













THE  
WESTMINSTER  
**Review.**

JANUARY—APRIL, 1842.

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“Legitimæ inquisitionis vera norma est, ut nihil veniat in practicam, cujus non fit etiam doctrina aliqua et theoria.”—BARON, *De Augm. Scien.*

“Those who have not thoroughly examined to the bottom all their own tenets, must confess they are unfit to prescribe to others; and are unreasonable in imposing that as truth on other men’s belief which they themselves have not searched into, nor weighed the arguments of probability on which they should receive or reject it.”—LOCKE, *Essay on Human Understanding*.

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# THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

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- ART. I.—1. *Wilhem's Method of Teaching Singing, adapted to English use ; under the superintendence of the Committee of Council on Education.* By John Hullah. Printed by W. Clowes and Sons, Stamford street, for her Majesty's Stationery Office, and published by Authority, by John W. Parker, West Strand, London.
2. *Singing for the Million ; a Practical Course of Musical Instruction.* By Joseph Mainzer. Simpkin and Marshall.
3. *Music Simplified ; or, a new Method to Propagate the Study of Music.* By Edward Juc de Berneval. Sold by the Author, 41 Great Castle street, Regent street.

**P**ERHAPS there are few persons among those who take an interest in the moral and intellectual improvement of the people who are not aware that, for some years past, efforts have been made to encourage the study of vocal harmony among the working classes, and to introduce it in schools as a branch of national education.

We believe the honour of having first called attention to this subject is due to Mr Edward Taylor, the Gresham professor of music. His lectures revived the memory of the time when part singing was the fashionable accomplishment of the English court ; when the madrigal, the catch, and the canon were sung in every rank of life, and when England was called " Merrie England," from the love of singing which almost universally prevailed. Through the same medium the public first became acquainted with the fact that in every country in Europe where a national provision has been made for the education of the people, singing and the notation of music are among the ordinary branches of school instruction. The lectures of Professor Taylor, delivered in all the principal towns of England, were

the means of sowing the seed from which have sprung many of the musical societies now in existence;\* and perhaps, indirectly, the one called the Society for the Encouragement of Vocal Music, which set seriously to work to apply the principle, and, beginning at the beginning, introduced singing, with varying success, in many of the humbler class of schools. As fellow-labourers in the same field, we have much pleasure in acknowledging our personal obligations to Professor Taylor for the stimulus which he was the means of giving to our own exertions for the promotion of the same object.

That object we believe to be one worthy the support of every philanthropist. But we will not now dwell upon the arguments in favour of this proposition;—suffice it here to assume, that such a direction may be given to vocal music as to render it not only a source of pleasure, but a means of raising the national character. The coarse manners and gross taste of a large portion of the population of the United Kingdom have often been lamented. Why should we not soften and refine them? We have long enough been told, that to a large section of the working classes the term social enjoyment merely suggests an opportunity for indulging in the pleasures of gin and beer and tobacco;—but when have we endeavoured to teach the people that there are higher means of gratification, or sought to place rational enjoyments within their reach? Penal measures, and moral exhortations, fail to reach the hearts of the people—why not try to act upon them through the medium of their amusements?

The propriety of such an attempt is now very generally admitted. Music is connected by the temperance societies with the means employed for the reformation of the drunkard; and, thanks to the somewhat arduous labours of those who addressed themselves to ears once as deaf as stone walls on the subject, the principle that music should be taught in all schools is now recognised (though in some cases only with a view to psalmody) by all the educational societies in Great Britain and Ireland.

It has also been recognised by her Majesty's late Ministers, in the Committee of Privy Council for Education (a committee formed out of their own body); and in a minute of their lordships' affixed to the work, entitled Wilhem's 'Method of Teaching Singing, adapted to English use,' many excellent reasons

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\* The lectures of Mr T. Philips (whose death by a railroad accident we have noticed with much regret) contributed also materially to the same end.

are given for connecting the study of vocal harmony with the measures in progress for extending popular education.

All this is highly satisfactory; it is another proof of what perseverance and the rightly-directed energies of a few individuals may accomplish in the face of obstacles apparently insurmountable. Some years ago, when Mr Wyse once ventured to hint in the House of Commons that singing should be taught in all schools, as in Germany, the suggestion was received with ridicule, and was deemed deserving of no further response than a loud laugh.

In the then state of opinion it required some moral courage on the part of those who first undertook to demonstrate, *con amore*, the practicability and utility of adapting vocal music to the discipline of schools, as they knew that for their pains they would only be looked upon, by the cold formalists of society, as benevolent but wild enthusiasts.

Good taste would, we think, have dictated in the minute of the Committee of Privy Council, some allusion to the pioneers in the cause by whom the labours of Mr Hullah had been preceded. A stranger taking up the work before us, would suppose the subject was one which had entirely originated with Mr Hullah\* or with the Committee of Privy Council. But we confess, had the Committee acted otherwise, it would have been contrary to the usual practice of the English Government. Letters of thanks have been often addressed to magistrates for the suppression of riots, to naval and military commanders for their achievements, but never, that we remember, to those who have most successfully employed moral agencies for advancing the welfare of the community;—and even in the instance of many administrative reforms which rise to our recollection, when they have been determined upon, the usual course has been to set aside the parties with whom the reforms originated, and who in fairness should have been consulted upon the means of giving effect to their own opinions, in favour of some person or persons of influential connexions, who took no part in the early struggle, but, at the eleventh hour, helped perhaps to secure a victory already won. In the present case no disappointment need be felt that Government did not depart from the rule of established precedent.

It is always, however, to be regretted that this disposition of governments to look at every question with reference only to party politics or personal predilections, invariably tends to

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\* It is due to Mr Hullah to say, that in his introductory course he acknowledged his obligations to others for much of the literary or argumentative portion of his lectures.

defeat, or greatly impede, the object sought to be promoted ; a fact of which we have now another illustration.

We have said it was highly satisfactory that the principle had been recognised by the Committee of Council, that the people should be instructed in vocal harmony. It would have been still more satisfactory had the Committee stopped there, or at least not have attempted to aid the cause, until they had taken some steps to ascertain that the measures to be adopted, however well intended, would not practically have the effect of opposition, and put a stop to further progress.

To the great majority of the friends of education, the object appeared to be gained, when Mr Hullah was placed, under especial Government patronage, at the head of a class of schoolmasters, and when it was announced that a new and improved method of teaching music, as adapted for the use of schools, was about to be published by the authority of Government.

It will be our duty (and far from a pleasing one) to show that this was a mistake, and that in the publication, by authority, of the tabular lessons, and the work now lying before us, a retrograde movement has really been made.

Before the interference of the Committee the influence of the exertions made by private individuals, and chiefly by the members of the Society for the General Encouragement of Vocal Music, had begun to be very sensibly felt. The number of musical societies had very greatly increased, and singing and the notation of music had been introduced in a multitude of schools, some as far north as Inverness in Scotland, and even in schools for black children in our West India colonies. The only limit to yet further successful exertion was the want of funds, and, consequent upon it, the difficulty of finding efficient teachers.

When Mr Hullah, the author of the music in the 'Village Coquettes,' and favourably known as possessing many of the qualifications required in a good teacher, was induced to devote himself to the instruction of classes, a desire was expressed by the Society for the Encouragement of Vocal Music to avail themselves of his assistance.

Little was then known of the method Mr Hullah had been studying at Paris, but the Society proposed to Mr Hullah to accept of an engagement as the conductor of one of their madrigal societies, and to divide with him the expense of a room in which he could receive either his private or public classes ; with a view of giving Wilhem's system a fair trial.

This arrangement was ultimately declined by Mr Hullah, though somewhat unexpectedly, as he had at first assented to

it, and had been with the Secretary to look at several rooms adapted for the object.

Mr Hullah had, at the time, a prospect of higher patronage than that of the Society, and no one can blame him for preferring to be placed at the head of a new school in music, to that of remaining a simple fellow-labourer in the same field in which others had long been engaged.

No one either could have blamed the Committee of Council, if, in patronizing Mr Hullah, they had shown an equal desire to support any other man of equal or greater ability, as, for instance, M. Mainzer, who, as a teacher for the working classes, has been far more successful than any other; but the Committee not only did not do this, but they did that which is perfectly inconsistent with all improvement in the art of teaching, they set about making proselytes to one particular method of instruction; they published their faith in Wilhem, and practically announced that no teachers of music but those who had been formed in his school were deserving of public encouragement or support.\*

There is, perhaps, no error among educationists which has been attended with such deplorable results as that of confounding the work of instruction with *methods* of instruction. No doubt one method is often better than another, but to the

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\* The immediate effect of the steps taken by the Committee of Council were to paralyse the exertions of the Society for the Encouragement of Vocal Music. The Committee of Council declined to give any money for the support of a singing school, which, we think, would have been a most legitimate application of their funds; but they assumed the superiority of Mr Hullah's 'Manual,' and went out of their way to print it at Government expense. The singing classes at Exeter Hall had, therefore, to be supported by private subscriptions, and many of the subscribers to the above-mentioned Society were applied to for pecuniary aid. Among them there were some who said, "We will not subscribe to both, and we will support the new Government institution rather than the Society, because that which has Government patronage is most likely to succeed." Thus the means of the Society diminished while the efforts making to give *éclat* to the new institution prevented the Society taking any effective steps to recruit its own funds, which, by withdrawing attention from Mr Hullah, would have seemed like an ungenerous rivalry. At the same time the announcement of a new method for teaching music, published by authority, almost put a stop to the diffusion of a knowledge of music by other plans. Local educational committees wishing to introduce music in their schools felt a desire to adopt that method, which, as they naturally supposed, possessed the greatest excellence, having received the highest possible sanction. The question was continually asked, "Why don't you unite with Government in propagating Wilhem's system?" to which the answer was one which failed to be satisfactory to all parties; viz., "We were willing to assist in giving Wilhem's method a fair trial, and offered to do so, but we cannot admit the inferiority of every other plan without some evidence of the fact."

teacher who understands his subject, and knows how to adapt himself to the capacity of his pupil, a thousand methods will present themselves.

Few, however, among those who found schools and write about *systems*, have made this discovery. Forty years ago Joseph Lancaster appeared,—a man of extraordinary ability as a teacher,—a schoolmaster, worshipped by children,—who could teach a thousand pupils with more success than many teachers would instruct one pupil. All the world went to see his school: his pupils were observed standing in semicircles, with their faces towards the wall, and the world went away with the notion that the secret of education lay in semicircles. Soon after Dr Bell came over from Madras, a man of scarcely less ability than Lancaster, and equal to him in zeal and energy. The pupils of Dr Bell were seen sitting or standing in squares, and since then the world has been divided in opinion upon the great question whether the method of the square, or that of the semicircle, is the more deserving support.

The public did not perceive that the success of these celebrated teachers lay not in their systems, but in themselves, and perhaps neither Bell nor Lancaster were conscious of the fact. Tell us not of systems, give us a teacher who has got his soul in the work: we care not for squares or circles, semicircles, heptagons, or pentagons—all mechanical arrangements and methods are but the dry bones of a system, utterly useless without there be a teacher who can infuse into it a spirit, and make the dry bones live, and speak to the mind and heart.

What is required of Government is, not to find new methods for bad teachers, but good teachers, with full liberty to adopt any method which may appear to them the readiest means of obtaining a given end.

If Government would improve the state of education, its duty is very simple. As it appears to us, it is this:

1. To provide such means of payment for schoolmasters as would induce men of superior capacity to enter a profession from which they are now driven by miserable stipends, lower than the wages given to a journeyman carpenter; and this is not to be done by Government grants, which will never be adequate to the object, but by a general school law, authorising local authorities to levy a school rate in every district where schools are needed.

2. Institutions for the education of schoolmasters, not so much in methods and mechanical arrangements as in knowledge;—knowledge of the sciences they will have to teach, knowledge of the human mind, knowledge of themselves, know-

ledge of the mind of children, to the capacities of which their own must be adapted.

We would not say that a Central Board of Education might not advantageously be employed in diffusing a knowledge of improved methods, and even in the preparation of elementary books; but undoubtedly not a Board *composed of Ministers of State*; and however a Board might be constituted, to begin with this would be beginning at the wrong end. Surely, before we set about casting new tools, we should consider whether the workmen can be found to use them, and if found, how the workmen are to be paid.

The preparation of elementary works by a Government Board of Education is also, under any circumstances, a task to be entered upon with great circumspection.

One half the difficulties of the Irish Education Board arose from their well-intended but injudicious attempts to introduce an improved version of the Bible in their scripture readings. Among their lesson books there are some extremely good, but others much inferior to corresponding works published by private individuals; and in this case a great injury is done to authors and the public. To authors, because neither author nor bookseller can compete with a Government publishing works not only without profit, but at a pecuniary loss; and to the public, because those who could write good books are prevented doing so from the same cause.

The best Board for the preparation or examination of elementary works would be one composed of highly educated and intelligent school Inspectors—such as exist in Holland; men employed continually in visiting schools, comparing the qualifications of schoolmasters and the merits of different methods of instruction. Such a Board would necessarily bring to the task a greater degree of practical ability than could be possessed by any other class of individuals. The worst conceivable Board, however, for such an object is that of a Cabinet Council—men perhaps individually well qualified if in private life, but as ministers of state, leaders of a great political party, with the cares of an empire upon their shoulders, utterly unfit for it, because placed in a position in which it would even be a crime to the State to allow their attention to be absorbed in the revision of children's books. Such, however, was the constitution of the Board which authorized the printing of Wilhem's 'Method of teaching Music' by the Stationery Department—and such is the present Board appointed by Sir Robert Peel, to sanction, we presume, the issue of similar publications.

We must be pardoned if we are so far prejudiced as to entertain



the opinion that those who take upon themselves to pronounce authoritatively upon the best means of teaching a science, should understand something of it themselves. We may assert however, with confidence, that not one member of the late Board was able to read music so as to sing at sight, and even their very zealous and active secretary, Dr Kay, is understood not to be a musician. The Committee appear to have been led to the conclusions at which they arrived entirely by their confidence in Mr Hullah, and in the favourable reports received from persons connected with the French Government of the success of M. Wilhem.

The Committee would have placed less reliance upon those reports had they been better able to judge of the facts. We should ourselves have had some deference for the opinion of a German or Italian Government on music, but none for the musical judgment of the Government of France. Notwithstanding the fact that the Conservatoire and the French Opera, supported at a great loss to the revenue, have produced some clever composers, we believe musical taste to be at a lower ebb in France than in any other country in Europe. Any one, we think, would be convinced of this who has seen a French audience endure with patience the wretched snatches of song introduced into their vaudevilles, always *a-propos de rien*, and always sung out of tune. It is not, at least, to France that England would look for the improvement of choral singing.\* France has had its troubadour songs and other national melodies; but part singing has never been so extensively practised in France as in this country—madrigals, glees, catches, canons have never been in France, as with us, the favourite pastime of large classes. While we have had our great musical festivals for almost a century back, assembling every two or three years masses of singers from the manufacturing districts, nothing of the same kind has existed in France; and even to this day the choruses of Handel are, to the great body of French musicians, entirely unknown.

In listening, therefore, to the accounts transmitted by French officials of the effects produced by the choral singing of M. Wilhem's pupils, some allowance should have been made for their comparative novelty in Paris, and it ought to have been known that those effects were no evidence whatever of the superiority of M. Wilhem's method over a thousand other

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\* We have heard it stated that M. Wilhem is a German, but this is a mistake: the corresponding German name is *Wilhelm*; no foreigner could have obtained the exclusive patronage of the French Government.

methods which have led to the same results in Germany and other parts of the continent. A stranger visiting Paris with letters of introduction to members of the French Government, would of course hear nothing but of the one method under Government patronage; but his admiration would be somewhat qualified if he stayed long enough to discover that no other methods had been allowed to come into competition with it.

M. Wilhem is a man of some talent, but not of such superior merit that his own efforts would have raised him above other teachers, had he not had the good fortune to possess a friend in M. Orfila, a member of the "Conseil Royal" for Public Instruction. When the French Government determined that singing should be taught in all the national schools, its direction was entrusted to M. Orfila, who had some knowledge of music, while most of the other members of the Board had none; and M. Orfila could see no better means of furthering the object than that of conferring the exclusive patronage of the Government upon M. Wilhem.

As the person patronized must always be the friend of some body, we should have nothing to say to this if the patronage had not extended to the creation of a monopoly, and if the system upon which others would speedily have improved had not been converted into an exclusive patent.

A very illiberal spirit was shown to all other teachers in the same profession. To give an instance:—no public concerts are allowed, excepting in the theatres, without especial permission from the police. An order of the "Conseil Royal" makes an exception in favour of the concerts given by M. Wilhem and his pupils. M. Mainzer, the first to show on a large scale what could be done in teaching singing to the working classes, could never obtain a similar privilege. Through the influence of some members of the Polytechnic Association, he was allowed to give a grand concert in the Salle des Concerts St Honoré, when nearly a thousand working men of Paris, whom he had taught, gratuitously, to sing in parts, executed a variety of concerted pieces with great precision and effect. The Duke de Choiseul Praslin presided on the occasion, and the concert, the fame of which extended to every part of Europe, produced an extraordinary impression; but it was never allowed to be repeated. M. Mainzer applied for leave to open gratuitous singing schools for workmen in various parts of Paris, but in vain. The police thought that bringing great bodies of working men together might lead to an *emeute*; but no such consequence was apprehended from the tempered enthusiasm

of M. Wilhem's pupils.\* M. Jue de Berneval, another talented class teacher, and now professor of sight singing at the Royal Academy of Music, met with similar discouragement.

The method of M. Wilhem is formally imposed on all the national schools of France, and M. Wilhem himself, with a liberal salary, is made Inspector-General of singing for all the public schools of Paris, belonging both to the Municipality and the Government. There are upwards of 120 of these schools in Paris, supported at the public expense, embracing about 30,000 children, besides 12 schools for adults, in which, with reading, writing, and arithmetic, singing is taught. M. Wilhem, as Inspector-General of singing, visits personally, or by his agents, the whole of these schools, and ensures two objects, which no wise government would have connected together; one, that the study of music shall not be neglected, the other, that no method but the method of M. Wilhem, and no music but music prepared by him, shall find admission into the public schools.

Where so many are taught upon one plan, it would be no miracle, even if the plan were wholly destitute of either novelty or merit, that its object should be attained by a considerable number of pupils. Let Mr Hawes or Mr Turle be made Inspector-General of singing for London, and be placed at the head of a well-paid corps of teachers, and we should soon have some thousands of children reading music as well as the boys of St Paul's Cathedral, the Chapel Royal, or Westminster Abbey, and no pupils of M. Wilhem read music better. This, however, would be no proof that our old-fashioned methods are the best, but it will at once be admitted that there would be no improvement upon them under the deadening influence of protection.

We have seen with some alarm that protection is likely to be the rule of the Committee of Council for Education, and our only hope is, that by showing how great a mistake has been committed in this instance a series of similar mistakes may be prevented. With this view we take up the subject.

Before, however, we proceed to an examination of Wilhem's method as adapted to English use, let us do justice to Mr Hullah, and explain that the remarks we are about to make are dictated by no spirit of hostility to him. No one who has attended his lectures at Exeter Hall could assert that he is wholly unqualified as a teacher. He is a young man of pleasing address, possessing in a high degree the tact necessary

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\* We understand that since M. Mainzer has left France, an intimation has been given that the police would no longer interpose obstacles to his exertions should he return to Paris.

to keep up the attention of adult pupils, and maintain an interest in his lessons. The art of teaching does not lie so much in methods employed, as in the ability to correct the mistakes of a pupil when they occur, and explain at the moment how they are to be avoided. This art Mr Hullah eminently possesses, and he is therefore deservedly popular with his classes. No person who wished to improve himself in the knowledge of written music, if gifted with sufficient perseverance to go through a very dry course of exercises, could fail to profit (though not, perhaps, to the extent the public have been led to suppose) by joining Mr Hullah's class. At the same time, we would caution him against the method developed in Mr Hullah's book, as one which will necessarily fail in the hands of ordinary teachers, and which is about as ill adapted for the instruction of *children* (its especial object), as any method yet devised.

Every good teacher of adults, however, is not necessarily fitted for the preparation of children's elementary books; something more than mere professional knowledge is required for the task. Dr Johnson, if he had tried, would probably not have succeeded so well in writing reading lessons in words of two syllables, as many a nursery governess profoundly ignorant of Latin. For preparing elementary books a peculiar kind of talent is needed, which, if ever possessed by Mr Hullah, had at least never been exercised when he received his commission. Above all, a knowledge of children is required,\* and, up to the time of the first tablets being published by the Committee of Council, Mr Hullah had never taught in any instance a class of children. The class with which he commenced at Battersea was not a class of children, but of young men training for schoolmasters, the youngest of whom were youths of fourteen, the most intelligent lads that could be selected from all the Union schools. The whole class consisted of but thirty, and among them several possessing the best voices, and consequently able to lead the rest, had already mastered the elementary difficulties under the instruction of another teacher, Mr Plumstead.\*

The experiment at Battersea was therefore no trial at all of the method as adapted for National and British schools, where the average ages of the children are from 8 to 11; neither is the experiment of the classes at Exeter Hall a fair trial, where

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\* We think this should have been acknowledged (however lightly estimated) when the Battersea pupils were first brought forward.

the pupils are all adults, many of them already members of choral societies, and some among them accustomed to teach singing in schools before they came to Mr Hullah, with a view of obtaining what they supposed he would enable them to acquire—a thorough mastery of the science. The Committee of Council should also have known that a gentleman of much higher standing than Mr Hullah in the musical profession, Mr T. Cooke, had previously studied the method of M. Wilhem in Paris, but after introducing it in his own classes in London, had ultimately abandoned it as of little or no value.

Mr Hullah has been thrown into a false position, and no one regrets the fact more than ourselves, since it places us, in common with almost the whole musical profession, and with those who, although not members of it, exerted themselves to promote the object, in the invidious light of appearing to oppose Mr Hullah, when we would simply condemn the precipitancy of those who confided to inexperience the exclusive direction of a great national movement.

Had the musical tablets, extensively circulated by the Committee of Council, and the work printed at the expense of the Stationery Department, and published by authority, simply appeared as any other book of lessons, with the name of a private individual, we should not have thought of submitting their contents to a severe analysis. Every such work should be received in the most friendly spirit, and welcomed as an additional evidence of the growing interest excited in the subject. We may shut our eyes, from kindly motives, to the faults of a professor limited to his own immediate circle, but the case is very different with faults of which Government undertakes the responsibility, and to which its patronage is to give wings reaching every corner of the globe in which the English language is spoken. The public have a right to expect that a Council, composed of the greatest officers of the nation, appointed to consider the means of improving and extending education among a population of seven-and-twenty millions, would, if it undertook to publish educational books, call to its assistance all the intelligence and proved fitness for the task to be found upon a careful inquiry in every part of the kingdom. Gross blunders, and errors of slovenliness in execution, are inexcusable on the part of such a Board. The public naturally believe that a work published by the authority of the highest officers in the State has been first subjected to the revision of several competent persons, so that the errors which

escaped one mind might be corrected by the judgment of another.\*

In Prussia and Austria, in the case of a new law, it is not unusual to circulate extensively printed copies of the proposed enactment, with a view of gathering opinions upon it before the measure is submitted, in a shape fit for final discussion, to the Supreme Council of Legislation. With us, on the contrary, the rule of Government is mystery :—the seal of official secrecy is placed upon every intended measure, until the moment when leave is obtained to bring in a new Bill, and the world is then often startled by the profound ignorance of details displayed by its authors.

This supposed necessity for mystery was no doubt the reason why no copies of Mr Hullah's tablets or lessons were to be obtained beyond the circle of his own pupils (who were naturally anxious to avoid a breach of confidence) until the moment arrived for publishing them with the sanction of the Committee of Council. We regret this, for it would have given us much more pleasure to have offered our criticism in the shape of private suggestions, while the work was passing through the press, than to have submitted them here. Whatever may be thought of the method of M. Wilhem, there is no real friend of Education who would not freely have lent his aid to obviate the more glaring defects of the first elementary work of the Committee of Privy Council : defects of which the existence is a reproach to the cause ; and National Education has not yet so many friends that we can have the slightest pleasure in seeing its most influential supporters sacrificing themselves and the object to blunders they might have been helped to avoid.

It would now, however, be dishonest to suppress an unfavourable opinion.

The question at issue is not merely how shall music be taught, but whether the steps taken are in accordance with those by which every branch of instruction might be improved. The question is, what should be the spirit of the whole educational policy of Government ? and better is it that the cause of National Education should stand still for a time, than that efforts should be only made in a false direction.

Looking at the subject in this light, we shall make no further

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\* This was the plan adopted in the elementary publications of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, and we might mention several educational works upon different subjects not published by that Society, but deservedly popular, every page of which was written and re-written several times over, and not finally printed till it had been extensively circulated in manuscript, and approved both in families and schools.

allusion to Mr Hullah, of whose professional success in life we shall always hear with pleasure, but shall direct the attention of our readers to the responsible publishers of the work before us, the Committee of Council of Education, at whose instigation it appears, from their own minute, the 'Manual' was prepared.

We have not at hand, and from friendly motives we do not wish to recal, the names of the former Committee of Council of Education. We may be allowed to forget them, since the present Board have already adopted the responsibility of this, undoubtedly the most questionable act of their predecessors. We give, therefore, only the names of the new firm—the present publishers of the work entitled 'Wilhem's Method of Teaching Singing'—a firm at once and fully entering into the spirit of trading competition;—not hesitating to decry in their advertisement the works of other publishers, by asserting that hitherto there had been no method\* of instruction (meaning, we presume, none worthy of the name) published in Great Britain to facilitate the teaching of vocal music in elementary schools.

#### COMMITTEE OF PRIVY COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION.

Lord Wharncliffe, President of the Council.

Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, First Lord of the Treasury.

Duke of Buckingham, Lord Privy Seal.

Right Hon. Henry Goulburn, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Lord Stanley, Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Lord Granville Somerset, Chancellor for the Duchy of Lancaster.

Sir James Graham, Bart., Secretary of State for the Home Department.

\* "Among the impediments to the introduction of a more general cultivation of vocal music among the lower orders in Great Britain, has been the want of a method of instruction facilitating the teaching of vocal music in elementary schools."—"Prefatory Minute of the Committee of Council," p. 5.

The Committee need not have gone further than the shop of their own agent (Parker, Strand) to have found Mr Turner's 'Manual for Teaching Singing in National Schools.' A cheap and meritorious work of the kind forms a part of Chambers's 'Educational Course.' The works published by Taylor and Walton—Cocks, Biddulph, and Co., are also well known, and we might mention many others. This assertion of the Committee is the more remarkable since the first diagram in their 'Manual,' page 2, for illustrating the intervals, is taken with a slight and immaterial alteration, not from Wilhem, but from 'First Lessons in Singing,' page 40. Wilhem's diagram is a staircase.

Twenty years ago, Mr Edward Taylor, using his own method, taught sight singing to two hundred Norwich weavers, who recently performed the most difficult oratorio ever written, Spohr's 'Crucifixion,' to the entire satisfaction of the composer.

Before we notice either the synthetical or scientific claims of this first publication of the above noblemen and right hon. gentlemen, we will say a word or two upon its literary merits.

In the prefatory minute of the Committee we find some excellent remarks upon the importance of national songs as "a means of forming an industrious, brave, loyal, and religious working class." We are told that in infant schools "The words of the songs commonly sung are rather foolish than simple, and fantastic than sprightly." The Committee do not appear to have been aware that of late any attempts have been made to remedy this defect, but intimating that they have undertaken the task themselves, call our attention to *their* labour songs, consisting of "words adapted to the music in this part of the course, chiefly such as may inspire cheerful views of industry." We naturally, therefore, turned first to this part of the work, and not without some expectation that the task had been fairly executed, since, in the land of Shakspeare and Milton, a Ministerial Commission of Inquiry might certainly succeed in finding some national songs worth adapting to music, and possibly poets capable of writing them. The words "brave and loyal" reminded us of Campbell's celebrated song of—

"The flag that braved a thousand years  
The battle and the breeze;"

and thinking this was one the Committee had probably selected, we caught ourselves, as we turned over the pages, involuntarily repeating the words—

"Britannia needs no bulwarks,  
No towers along the steep;  
Her path is on the mountain wave,  
Her home is on the deep."

Instead, however, of quoting Campbell, we found the Committee had employed a poet (name unknown) to write such verses as the following:—

#### THE SPINNING WHEEL.

"The wheel, O how it hums,  
The merry spinning wheel,  
Good dame, when the snow comes,  
The shepherd shall not feel

"The blast; with plaid and hose .  
He'll breast the wintry storm;  
And, hark! how loud it blows  
Around our ingle warm."



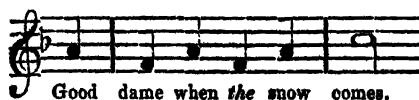
The connexion of the spinning wheel with snow, and the snow with a shepherd keeping himself warm in a blast (for a fall of snow is not necessarily accompanied with wind) is not very clear; and why, in an elementary work, introduce such an obsolete and inappropriate term as *ingle*?\* We were rather surprised to find such verses printed among songs designed to supersede those, which are "rather foolish than simple, and fantastic than sprightly." The poem proceeds—

"Oh dame! thy sailor boy  
 Upon the giddy mast  
 Sits high, and sings with joy  
 (Tott'ring before the blast).  
 "God speed the murm'ring wheel,  
 That spins the lambkin's fleece,  
 Which wraps us while we reel  
 Across the swelling seas."

As we cannot suppose a poet laureate of the Committee of Council would express himself ungrammatically, we must conclude it is the sailor boy, and not the giddy mast, that is here alluded to as "tott'ring before the blast;" and the sailor boy is probably represented as singing to divert his thoughts from the fear of breaking his neck. From the next verse, however, we fear the reader will suppose that it was the poet who was "tott'ring," in consequence of his brain "reeling" when writing about spinning the fleece of lambkins (new-born lambs), and imagining that *fleece* and *seas* were rhymes.

This specimen of improved national songs is made to do service through three different lessons, pages 103, 114, 126! It is arranged to rather a pleasing air of Wilhem.

While the Committee of Council claim credit for the superiority of their *libretto*, others have pleaded in extenuation of its faults, the difficulty of adapting new words to old music; but the apology is one which, in this case, cannot be admitted, because the words are, after all, not adapted to the music, as will be observed from the following striking instance of false accentuation:—



A strongly accented note is here made to fall upon the unaccented word *the*, a fault almost inexcusable in an elementary

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\* "' Ingle, a flame or blaze; a wood fire, whence 'Inglewood,' the name of a forest in Cumberland."—*Johnson*.

work, because it is part of the duty of a teacher to guard his pupils against false musical expression of this kind, and neither sense nor rhyme being deemed a matter of moment, the error might have been avoided by substituting another word for the fourth syllable, thus—

“Good dame, when *snow* shall come”

As the sea is a favourite subject in these songs, we quote another specimen of the kind of inspiration kindled in the mind of our poet by such a theme. We take it from page 111, a song called ‘The Sea Boy.’

“In night’s most wintry rime  
He doth the topmast climb;  
We soon shall reach the clime  
Of the sun, thinks the sea boy.”

If the reader should be somewhat dull of comprehension, we will endeavour to explain what we imagine to have been the ideas the poet here intended to express. The sailor boy, from some cause not necessary to be stated, is ordered, *in the night,\** to the topmast. The mast is covered with hoar frost (wintry rime), and the duty is disagreeable; but, instead of going grumbling up, he bethinks himself that the ship is fortunately not steering east, west, or north (which would have altered the case), but to the south, and, therefore, that he will soon get into warmer regions. The reader is to make allowance for the difficulty of conveying all these ideas in the compass of four short lines. He is to understand that the words *clime of the sun* are a poetical phrase, and that *climb* and *clime* are rhymes, which perhaps he never knew before. The next verse begins thus—

“Then, in the polar night,  
He sees the arctic bright  
Wave like a veil of light  
Across the sky. O the sea boy!”

We have read of the arctic and antarctic circles; but what is meant by the “arctic bright” waving like “a veil of light”

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\* The first verse describes the ‘Sea Boy’ as keeping watch at the mast-head *through the night* :—

“While on the silent deeps  
The weary ship’s crew sleeps,  
Who on the top-mast keeps  
Watch through the night?  
The sea boy.”

The ship’s crew must have an extraordinary captain to allow this: but what a pleasant prospect, by way of encouragement, for boys going to sea!

across the sky, we cannot imagine, unless it be some hidden allusion to the aurora borealis, which, however, we never heard called by the name of the "arctic." The arctic ocean it cannot be, because the ocean never waves "like a veil of light across the sky."

Our modern Dibdin, perfectly unconscious of any deficiency on his part in clearness of ideas or felicity of expression, favours us with not less than six verses of the same quality. We give the fifth verse—

"And now the ship doth come  
Where the cocoa-nuts bloom,  
And the savage hath his tomb  
In the Morai. The sea boy!  
And Nature's chieftaincy  
In fair isles rules the free,  
Beneath the bread-fruit tree,  
\* Painted and wild. O the sea boy!"\*

The sixth verse not inappropriately begins with—

"Nowhere but on the seas,  
Or battling with the breeze,  
Are seen such sights as these."

Certainly they are to be seen nowhere on land; and the sailor-boy must have served on board the Flying Dutchman, who saw a bread-fruit tree "painted and wild," and cocoa-nuts (not the trees) blooming in *the Morai*, wherever that may be,† and the savage first quietly entombed, then raised again, and converted into a free man, ruled over by "Nature's chieftaincy," whatever that may mean.

Until the appearance of this work we had always regarded it as important to teach children grammatical composition; or the art of so constructing sentences as to express

\* This phrase 'O the sea boy,' introduced in every verse, reminds us of a tragedy written by Thomson the poet, in which an unfortunate line was the means of damning the piece after the first night. The line was—

"Oh Sophonisba, Sophonisba, oh!"

This was parodied by some one in the gallery into

"Oh Jemmy Thomson, Jemmy Thomson, oh!"

† Captain Cook tells us that the pyramidal tombs common in Otaheite are called *morais*, and that the greatest ambition of every native is to have at his death a magnificent *morai* erected to his memory. From the definite article, however, affixed to the word above, it would seem as if by *the Morai* some particular country is alluded to. We know of no spot on the globe called *the Morai*; but if our author has found it, we hope national gratitude will accord him at his death "a magnificent morai" for the discovery.

the idea they wished to convey in simple and appropriate language, avoiding all superfluous terms and unmeaning phrases. In the best schools of the continent there are daily exercises in composition and the critical analysis of sentences. But what are we to say to an elementary work emanating from Government, expressly designed to raise the standard of taste among the working classes, in which such lines as we have quoted above are given as adapted to the object?

We know the task of adapting words to music is somewhat difficult, but the difficulty is not one which a Committee of Privy Council could not have overcome.\* Professor Taylor, and twenty others whom we might name, have succeeded. Moore at least has shown that the talent exists in the highest conceivable degree, requiring only a proper direction. A hundred of the cleverest pens in England might have been put in motion by the slightest hint from the premier that their assistance would be welcome; but if otherwise—if the whole race of poets be indeed extinct, rather than sacrifice common sense to music, why not have written new music to such songs as we have? Wilhem himself has no rank among composers; he has not produced a single air that will bear a comparison for originality and beauty with many written by Bishop, Cooke, Balfe, or Barnett; and Wilhem's method could have been taught without taking any one of his melodies, the best of which are but feeble.

To some extent, indeed, this course has been followed. Several unexceptionable songs from the 'Original Poems' and other works have been selected, and adapted to music "written expressly for the work." But here we have to complain that, when the words are adapted to the object, the music is not suitable to the words. For example, we may show the use made of the beautiful song from 'Original Poems,'—beautiful from its truth and simplicity, as the very transcript of the

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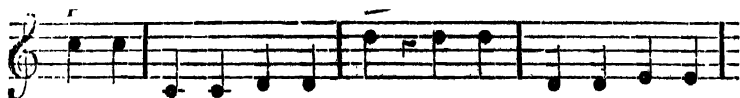
\* We trust our remarks may have the effect of causing the *libretto* of the second part of the work, which has not yet appeared, to be carefully revised before being published (like the first) "by authority." We are told (alluding, we presume, to the second part—page 11) that to the same hands has been entrusted the task of adapting the best of "our old English melodies which deserve to be restored to the popular use;" and—

"In order that the restoration of this national music may be facilitated, words have been adapted to it, intended to associate it with the customs of the people, and with healthy, moral, and religious sentiments, which may be intelligible and congenial to the minds of the children who sing them." ! ! !

mind of a little child looking up to the sky and wondering at the stars—

“Twinkle, twinkle, little star,  
How I wonder what you are,  
Up above the world so high,  
Like a diamond in the sky.”

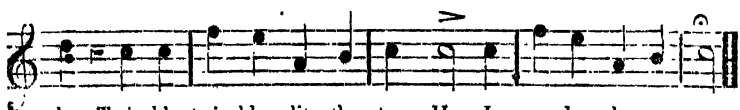
In infant schools these words are generally sung to an air equally simple and very pleasing—‘*Ali vous dirai-je.*’ In the work before us they are arranged to the following disjointed looking melody :—



Twin-kle, twin-kle, lit-tle star,—How I won-der what you



are,— Up a-bove the world so high, Like a dia-mond in the



sky. Twin-kle, twin-kle, lit-tle star,—How I won-der what you are.

In the prefatory minute to which we have before alluded, it is regretted that “airs have frequently been selected for infant schools, altogether unsuitable for very young children.” From this remark we are to infer, as well as from the choice of the words, which, although truthful from the lips of a child, are only silly as the language of an adult,—that the above air is one deemed by the Committee really suitable for infant schools. We must dissent from this opinion; very young children could not be taught such an air as the above, and the attempt to make them learn it would only set them crying. We have no objection to the music as an exercise upon octaves for a senior class; but for a senior class we should not select the poetry of infancy.

This example will give some idea of the character of the work as “*a synthetical method of instruction,*” which it professes to be; that is to say, a method strictly progressive, commencing not with difficulties, but with the first elements, proceeding step by step, and so arranged (as the preface assures us), that “every lesson is adapted to the capacity of children.”—P. 5.

Turning to the first lesson to see how this promise had been fulfilled, we were certainly not impressed with a very high opinion of the logical consistency to be expected from the work by the first two sentences which we read.

“1. Sounds which are so confused and harsh that the ear cannot follow them, nor the voice imitate them, are *noise*.”

“Sounds which the ear can follow, or the voice can imitate, are *music*.”

It is curious that parents (who are certainly often very ignorant persons) always take it for granted that their children understand the meaning of what is said to them, when told some twenty times a day at least, “Don’t make such a noise.” No doubt the reason children continue to make a noise, notwithstanding this paternal injunction, is, that they have never had the benefit of a scientific definition of what the term “noise” means; here, however, is one of which parents may avail themselves in future. Noise is that “which the voice cannot imitate,” and “which the ear cannot follow” distinctly. An illustration is given. The teacher says,—

“Give me an instance of noise.—A. The blows of a hammer.”

So that it appears the blows of a hammer cannot be heard distinctly; they are too confused to be followed by the ear!\* Here, too, is a definition of music, from which we learn, that when children are screaming, shouting, and crying, they are not making a noise, provided too many are not doing the same thing at once, so as to bewilder the ear in following the sounds, but practising vocal music: two persons holding a conversation together are not merely talking, but engaging in a vocal duet; provided only they do not address each other in languages not mutually understood, but in such a manner that whatever is said or spoken by the one, the sound of his words can be followed or imitated by the ear or voice of the other.†

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\* Our readers may not, perhaps, have noticed that Rossini has taken the blows of a hammer, or the rat-a-tat-a-tat of a footman’s knock, as the leading subject of his overture to ‘Il Barbière.’

† This is not a blunder made by M. Wilhem, but one into which the author has fallen through a desire to improve upon the original text: an essential part of M. Wilhem’s definition has been omitted, and this, perhaps, is one of the reasons which has made him displeased with the liberties taken with his method by the Committee of Privy Council, without consulting him on the subject. When we visited him in Paris, he had just received from some anonymous agent a packet containing the tabular lessons recently published. This was the first intimation he had obtained that his plans had

This is certainly a singular mistake to make at the outset, but it is not one, perhaps, practically of much importance, as children are all perfectly aware that talking and singing are not quite the same thing, though made to appear so in the definition. But let us proceed with our lesson.

The next paragraph explains the difference between instrumental and vocal music. The third paragraph defines the meaning of the term *musical passage*, of which three bars are given in illustration, nothing of which can of course be understood by children, because they have not yet been taught the name or meaning of any one of the characters to which the teacher points. Assuming, however, that this has been made quite clear, the pupils are next informed that every musical passage is in some scale; that a scale is a series of eight sounds, one of which is an *octave* to the first (a term not explained), and that there are two kinds of scales—diatonic scales and chromatic scales, and two forms or modes—the major mode and the minor mode. The lesson concludes with questions and answers upon the foregoing. The last of which are as follows:—

“How many sorts of scales are there?—Two.

“What are they called?—Diatonic scales and chromatic scales.

“Which are the more important of the two?—Diatonic scales.

“In how many ways or modes can a diatonic scale be written?—Two.

“What are they called?—The major mode and the minor mode.

“Which are we going to study?—The major mode.”

In the original work of Wilhem nothing is said about a “musical passage,” and he judiciously omits in his first lesson all mention of chromatic scales, or major and minor modes. Definitions, and incorrect ones, we have seen are given where none are required, but of these hard words, so alarming to children, no explanation is offered, because in the very first stage of their instruction none would be possible. The children are required to remember them nevertheless; the repetition of hard technical terms not understood is supposed to be instruction, and little else is attempted in the first lesson. The account a child would give of it out of school would probably be this: “There is some difference between noise and music; and music is something about diatonic scales and chromatic scales, and major modes and minor modes; but what they are I don’t know.”

There ought to be no compromise between the friends of

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been adopted by the English Government, and he appeared far from content with the alterations his method had undergone, in adapting it to English use.

education and a method, with such a beginning. No part of the work of instruction is so important as the first step. No subsequent art of the teacher can efface the discouraging impression produced on the mind of a child who is made to believe, through the fault of its teacher, that it is commencing a task dull and dry, and above its powers of comprehension. From Edgeworth to Pestalozzi, every writer on education of the slightest reputation, during the last thirty years, has laboured to show the necessity of avoiding, in the first elementary lessons, all technical or scientific terms, and of confining that stage of instruction to the simplest ideas, expressed in the simplest words. The lesson we have given has all the faults of the old system of elaborate teaching, in which nothing was taught. It is a lesson in the true spirit of the 'Eton Latin Grammar,' a book only to be understood after the language has been acquired.

In the second lesson we have an attempt to explain, by a diagram, the intervals of the diatonic scale. The teacher sings through the diatonic scale, and tells the pupils to observe that the intervals between the 3rd and 4th, and 7th and 8th, are nearer together than the other intervals. It is expected that children, without having had any previous exercises of the kind, never having had their attention directed to the difference between one sound and another in singing, knowing as yet nothing even of the comparatively wide intervals of 3rds and 5ths, the ear having received no cultivation whatever, will at once be enabled to appreciate the nicest distinctions of sounds, so that, after listening for the first time attentively to the notes of the scale, the children will recognise the semitones between the 3rd and 4th, and 7th and 8th.

Five minutes' experience in any school-room might have satisfied the author of the work, that young children can understand nothing at all of the matter; indeed it would be physically impossible to be otherwise, for the education of the ear is like that of the eye, great and broad differences must be appreciated before minute ones. There must be some familiarity with objects before the eye can at once discover the precise difference between one object and another, and it is the same with the difference between sounds, the ear must first of all be accustomed to them. The explanation, therefore, attempted is one which properly belongs not to the first, but to a much later stage of instruction. In teaching singing, the first thing to be done is to exercise the voice and ear; and the next to describe how sounds may be written on paper. Time enough to show how semitones are written, when the mind has formed a true conception of the meaning of the term.



When we were visiting, by the invitation of M. Wilhem, a large Lancasterian school in Paris, during the singing lesson, we found a monitor endeavouring to beat this difference between the tones and semitones of the diatonic scale into the heads of a class or draft of children, between the ages of seven and nine. We saw, at a glance, from the stultified looks of the children, that they did not comprehend a word the monitor said, and we drew the attention of M. Wilhem to the fact. M. Wilhem admitted it was so, but said "they will understand the lesson by-and-by, when they have gone through other lessons which follow." We could have replied, why not, then, put the other lessons first? It was a confession that the method, beginning as it does with the unintelligible, is anything but a *synthetical* method, or one proceeding by simple gradations from the known to the unknown.

Not till all these difficulties have been presented is a word said relative to the meaning of the term *notes*, and of the five lines on which music is written. This is reserved for the third lesson. The fourth lesson treats of the "compass" of different voices; and here again we have an instance of the way in which words of the easiest meaning may become perplexed by definitions couched in technical or scientific language. The compass of a voice, we should have said, includes all the sounds it can produce, from the lowest to the highest; but this definition would not have been sufficiently learned, we are therefore told—

"The compass or extent of a voice depends upon the number of *diatonic* sounds it can produce."

But why *diatonic*, and not also *chromatic* sounds, thus leaving it to be inferred that the less are not included in the greater? Why mention either of these technical terms, when the word "sounds" alone would have been sufficient, necessarily including those that are *diatonic*, as well as those which are *chromatic*?

How little title the work has to the character of "a *synthetical* method," will be further seen by turning to page 28, where a lesson will be found on the meaning of the Italian terms, *largo*, *adagio*, *andante*, *allegro*, *presto*, &c.

The explanation of these terms, in most other methods, is placed about the end of the course, when the pupils, having learnt something of singing, require, in finishing their instruction, to learn to sing with expression; here it is given before the children have sung their first song, embracing the simplest interval, that of the second, and before even they have been taught the difference in time between a crotchet and a quaver.

The following questions occur at page 30, while the time table is not given till page 35.

"What does *andante grazioso* mean?—A. Moving along gracefully.

"What does *allegro moderato* mean?—Lively, but not too fast."

Even at page 35 the time table is not introduced until the memory has been burthened with the additional Italian terms of *mezzo forte* and *rallentando*. The complete inversion in the work of everything approaching to a natural order of instruction will be seen from the questions put, page 36.

"What is the meaning of the letters 'mf'?—A. *Mezzo forte*, that is, 'rather loud.'

"What does the word *rallentando* mean?—'Slackening,' that the passage over which it is placed is to be slower than the passages before it.

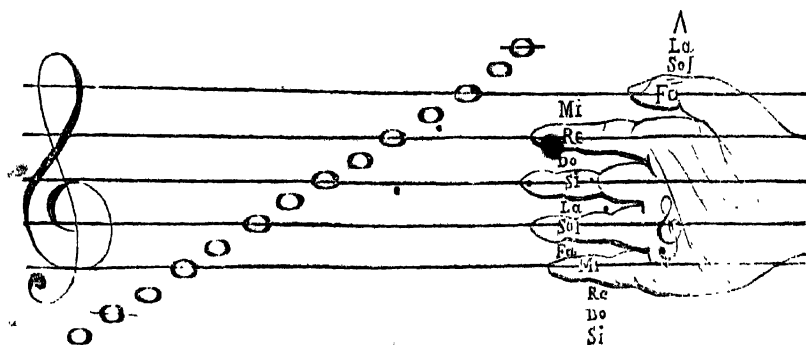
"Describe a pause.—A curved line over a dot.

"How is it used?—It is placed over or under a note, to show that it can be held as long as the singer pleases.

"How many quavers can be sung in the time of one semibreve?—Eight.

"How many minims can be sung in the time of one semibreve?—Two."

The most striking peculiarity of Wilhem's system is the revival of the old method of teaching the notation of music upon the fingers—the five fingers being substituted for the five lines of the staff, after the following manner.



The teacher, instead of pointing to notes marked upon a black board on which five lines have been painted, holds his hand up, as in *Pyramus and Thisbe*, and pointing to an opening between his fingers (the chink in his imaginary wall), tells

his pupils that each chink or opening represents a space, and the fingers themselves the lines of the staff. The pupils afterwards, instead of singing from real notes, sing from the imaginary notes placed on or between the fingers to which the teacher points, the pupils doing the same with their own hands.

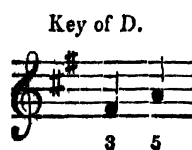
There is perhaps no great harm in this, and it may sometimes be an amusement to children, who like to be playing with their fingers; but yet, as it is not every child who is quick in comprehending how one thing can stand for another, we fear it will prove, in many cases, only another addition to the difficulties with which musical notation is already encumbered.

The advantage proposed to be obtained by the method is not stated in the work, but M. Wilhem told us that he relied upon it as a system of *mnemonics* applied to the recollection of intervals: the associations of touch with sounds assisting the memory in remembering sounds. And in our subsequent examination of a class of his pupils, he made us observe, that before some of his pupils could remember the sounds belonging to the written intervals, they had to touch the place of those intervals on their fingers, to recal the sounds by association.

We have a great distaste for all mechanical appliances when the memory can be better assisted, as in this case, by an intellectual analysis. Go-carts have gone out of fashion since it was discovered that they were so great a help to a child that they prevented it learning to walk; but the attempt to teach music by a mnemonic method shows that M. Wilhem does not understand where the chief difficulty to the pupil lies. That difficulty mainly consists in the intervals of the scale perpetually changing their places in the staff, so that without great practice they cannot be recognized in a moment. For example;—in half an hour a child may be taught to remember, without any mnemonic methods, the sounds belonging to the 3rd and 5th of the scale, when written in the key of C



but the 3rds and 5ths of other keys are found in all parts of the staff, as, for example, in the



Now as the scale may be written in not less than 24 different keys, major and minor, the knowledge of the sounds belonging to the 3rd and 5th is but of little comparative use until, by the continued study of music in different keys, the pupil can recognize, without hesitation, the 3rd or the 5th of the scale, in whatever key it may be written. The digital, or finger method, is of no assistance to the pupil in overcoming this difficulty, but rather an embarrassment than otherwise, because it is not adapted to a change of keys. The thumb is always *fa*, or the 4th of the scale, while the corresponding top line on the staff may represent that or any other interval. In the key of G, the top line represents the 7th of the scale, and as the sound belonging to the 7th is very different to that of the 4th, to remember the sound of the 4th by the "rule of thumb," when we want to sing the 7th, is to embarrass ourselves with a false association.

Many persons have supposed, and amongst them, we believe, the Committee of Council, that this method of teaching by the fingers is something new, originating with M. Wilhem; it is, however, as old as the eleventh century, when it was invented by Guido Aretino, a monk of Arezzo, from whom it has since gone by the name of the Guidonian hand.\* Guido Aretino, or, as the name is sometimes written, Guy Aretin, was also the person who first borrowed and applied from the Hymn of St John the syllables still used, with but little change or addition, in most of the solfeggio exercises now written.† Solfeggio and the digital method were both introduced together, and that the latter speedily sunk into disuse, and was not heard of for 800 years, is some presumption against its supposed merit. It is, however, no novelty, even in England. Forty years ago, Stevens, the author of 'Bragela,' taught his pupils upon that method, and Mr T. Cooke, long before the publication of the present English adaptation of Wilhem, adopted it in his classes till he found it an unprofitable occupation of their time.

We pass over the many typographical errors contained in the work; errors, however, which ought not to have appeared in a volume intended for a national school-book, and would not, had the work been first revised by competent judges. But a mistake has been pointed out by a contemporary in the 46th chapter (page 138), which cannot be attributed to the careless-

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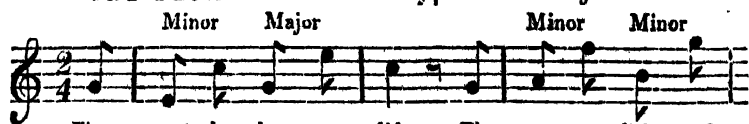
\* See Busby's 'Dictionary of Music.'

† Ut queant laxis,  
Re-sonare fibris,  
Mi-ra gestorum,  
Fa-muli tuorum,

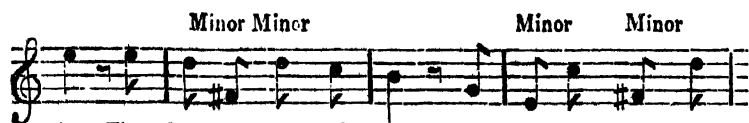
Sol-vi polluti.  
La-bii reatum,  
Sancte Joannes.

ness of the printer. An air is given as a type of the *major 6th*, in which nearly all the 6ths are minor. The air (page 138), in fact, contains but four major 6ths, and not less than twelve minor 6ths; it cannot, therefore, be a type of one or the other; and in the air given as a type of the *minor 6th*, there is but one 6th of either kind. We copy what is called "a type of the *major 6th*," as a specimen of the scientific accuracy of the work, and to give another instance of the kind of songs which are deemed suitable for children.\*

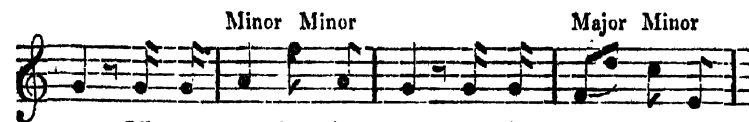
THE FLYING COURSE:—type of the *major 6th*.



First gent-ly let us glide, The ropes are *like* and  
Our sport is glad and long; We nei-ther scoff nor



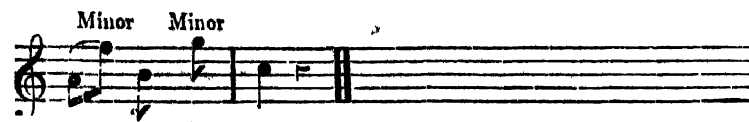
free, Then bold-ly take each stride, And cir-cle round the  
brawl, And aye the skill'd and strong Have rea-dy help for



tree. Like a hart from the ground, Clear the bar with a  
all. In our sports may we learn To do each a good



bound, Then like birds on the wing Let us  
turn, As like elves in a ring Round the



soar round the ring.  
tree we all swing.

\* A major 6th contains four tones and one semitone; a minor 6th, three tones and two semitones. We have marked them in copying the music for the benefit of the uninitiated.

This is a song intended for the play-ground; but the nature of children must be changed before they will sing such an air of their own accord out of school hours, and their taste for melody must be entirely perverted before they could derive any pleasure from such an unnatural progression as that arranged to the words "clear the bar with a bound."

Considerable ingenuity has been displayed by M. Wilhem in the arrangement of his solfeggio exercises, so that the different classes of a school may be learning at one time different singing lessons in the same room, without that degree of discord and confusion which would otherwise be inevitable.

An exercise upon 3rds forms a second to an exercise upon 6ths, so that the class learning 3rds, and another class learning 6ths, sing in harmony together; that is to say, when they have learnt to sing their parts correctly, for until then nothing is gained. Of all musical torments, none perhaps exceed that of listening to the false notes of pupils learning solfeggio exercises; and when a number of exercises are being sung in this manner together, out of tune and time, by perhaps 400 children, the effect is perfectly excruciating.

The instruction, however, of the Exeter Hall classes is not conducted upon the monitorial system, or that of different classes learning different exercises in the same room and at the same time, but upon the simultaneous method, and this is not open to the same objection.

With the view now of rendering our remarks of some practical benefit to the teacher, we shall throw our concluding observations into the form of suggestions of the steps which should really be pursued in conveying elementary instruction in music.

In our visits to continental schools we have accumulated, among other school books, a great number upon singing; but we have not one in our collection so overlaid with the technical pedantries of the science, so abounding in difficulties insuperable to children, so little of the character of a work adapted for the self-instruction of an adult, as this English adaptation of Wilhem's method. Indeed, without a master to explain it, the book is perfectly useless; no person wholly unacquainted with the elements of music could master a page of its contents.

Those who would form an idea of a synthetical method, as contra-distinguished from that of Wilhem, would do well (if acquainted with the German language) to procure Nägeli's work for teaching singing on the principles of Pestalozzi—a

work much esteemed in Germany, and from which many useful ideas may be obtained.\*

Here in England, and also in America, various works have appeared on the same subject, of which we cannot now stop to discuss the merits; but we may observe, that a far superior course of elementary exercises to those of Wilhem have lately appeared, published by M. Mainzer, under the title of 'Singing for the Million.'† We have seen in the classes established by that gentleman,‡ from three to five hundred persons, chiefly of the working classes, engaged in singing these exercises in unison, and we were much struck with their extreme simplicity, the one essential qualification, without which comparatively no progress can be made in popular instruction.§ The first object in teaching a class to read music is to give a general idea of the subject. Theory should be kept in the back ground till a foundation has been laid for future scientific attainments, and this object is well attained by M. Mainzer's preparatory course; so well indeed, that we believe as much real knowledge of sight singing (allowing for the difference in the amount of practice) may be acquired by his first sixteen lessons as by studying the whole of the fifty chapters in the work under review, which, confessedly, breaks off in the middle of the subject.

In teaching singing, however, it would not be easy to find any set of exercises that are equally adapted for all ages. The

\* Auszug aus der Gesangbildungslehre nach Pestalozzischen Grundsätzen von Peiffer und Nägeli Zurich.

† Published by Simpkin and Marshall.

‡ Here it is but right to say that too much praise cannot be given to this gentleman, a composer and musical critic of some reputation, for his disinterested and benevolent exertions. For all that he has hitherto done for the masses of working men, whom he has taught to sing, he has accepted no payment. His classes have been, as far as he himself is concerned, entirely gratuitous; not that he is a rich man, and can well afford to do so from his own pecuniary resources, but because he is an enthusiast in the cause, and will not allow himself to be stopped by personal considerations. Every member of his classes pays sixpence per month; but this is scarcely more than sufficient to cover the expenses of rooms and lights, and the music of his exercises is sold to his classes at the cheap rate of twopence per sheet; each sheet containing sixteen pages of music. We should rejoice, for the sake of the cause, to see M. Mainzer realizing a fortune at this rate of payment.

§ We should except, however, for reasons to be hereafter stated, a few exercises in the key of G and F, if sung to the solfeggio syllables upon any other method than that laid down by Rousseau; a method, however, which ought not to be applied till the pupil is thoroughly familiar with the intervals in the key of C.

teacher must vary his lessons according to the capacities of his pupils, and for very young children solfeggio exercises should be used sparingly, if at all. We entirely dissent from the doctrine now maintained, that children should not be allowed to sing till they are able to sing from written music. It might as well be said that children should not be allowed to speak till taught to read. Much as we value the art of reading music, it is but the means to an end. It is not music itself, but a means of extending our knowledge of music. There can be no reasonable objection to infant school songs being taught without the written notes, provided the songs themselves are suitable and are taught correctly; indeed, on the contrary, such teaching is an excellent preliminary exercise for the voice and ear. God forbid that half the happiness and cheerfulness of infancy should be sacrificed to the supposed necessity of first making children acquainted with the construction of diatonic and chromatic scales.

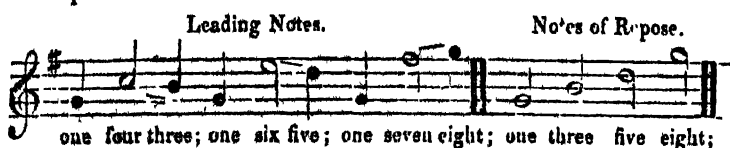
In completing the musical education of a pupil in sight singing, it is necessary not only to educate the eye in a knowledge of the forms by which sounds are expressed, but to exercise the understanding; and a thorough mastery of the subject is not to be attained by singing mechanically through any set of solfeggio exercises, however complicated and difficult. We attach comparatively little importance to exercises on 4ths, or 7ths, or any other intervals; they may be learnt by ear as well as nursery songs, *and are so learnt in large classes*; the first 4th or 7th sung helping the pupil to sing all the rest of the series; but the difficulty is in remembering, when 4ths, 3rds, 6ths, and 7ths, are grouped promiscuously together, what is the precise sound belonging to each; and to learn this without the incessant practice of professional singers, which makes it an affair not of mind but of habit, an appeal must be made to the understanding, and the pupil must be taught to mark the quality of the sounds characteristic of the different intervals.

This is the object proposed by M. E. Jue de Berneval, professor of sight singing at the Royal Academy; and although his treatise upon what he terms a monogammic system, is not adapted for a popular elementary work, it contains some excellent hints for teaching sight singing; and his system, which may be termed an intellectual method, differs entirely from that of Wilhem, which is purely mechanical from beginning to end.

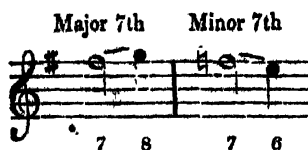
M. Jue draws the attention of his pupils to the fact, that each interval of the diatonic scale has a sound so peculiar to itself, that when its character is once understood, they can never be at



a loss to distinguish it from any other. For example, the 7th may be remembered by noting its tendency to *ascend* to the 8th. The ear cannot rest or repose on the 7th, it is a note of passage, leading to the octave of the key. The 4th and the 6th are in like manner notes of passage, but having a tendency to *descend*—the 4th leading to the 3rd, and the 6th to the 5th; while the 1st, 3rd, 5th, and 8th are all notes of repose—notes upon which the ear may rest; employed, therefore, as the concluding chord of every composition, and remembered with ease as the most natural progression from the key note to its octave. For example:



The 7th of the above major scale may, in like manner, be distinguished from the minor 7th; the one having a tendency to ascend; the other, like the 6th, a tendency to descend, and of a peculiar *plaintive* character.



The way to impress these characteristic distinctions upon the mind is, after having given the above explanation, to sing or play to the pupil various intervals, and direct him to write them down, finding out for himself what the intervals are, by listening attentively. We would strongly recommend the frequent repetition of such an exercise, as one of the most profitable in which the pupil can be engaged. The teacher, however, must be careful, in singing, not always to use the same words or syllables, so as to give any other clue to the interval than the actual sound belonging to it. As an instance of the facility with which the power may be acquired, we may mention that a little boy, under six years of age (taught by M. Jue), once named to us correctly the intervals of every chord we struck upon the pianoforte, the boy standing with his back to the instrument.

Another exercise of equal importance, and, indeed, one that is quite essential to the acquirement of sight singing, without the incessant practice which creates a kind of instinct for read-

ing music, is to analyse the different parts of a composition, and especially the most difficult passages, in the same manner that children, when learning grammar, are exercised in parsing a sentence.

For example, the teacher will take a passage out of Handel's 'Coronation Anthem,' like the following, and write it upon the black board.



The teacher then, pointing to the notes upon the board, will address the class as follows :—

"What key are we in?—*A.* The key of D.—How do you know that?—*A.* Because the key of D has two sharps in the signature.\*—Sing the intervals belonging to the chord of D. (The pupils sing 1-3-5-8, or Do, mi, sol, do, the teacher having given the key note.)—*Teacher.* Which of those you have sung do you find in the first bar?—*A.* The two first notes are the 5th and the 8th.—*Teacher.* Sing the 5th and 8th to the words 'and all.' (The pupils sing them.)—*Teacher.* What intervals do you find in the third and fourth bars, above the words 'and said?'—*A.* The intervals of the 7th and 8th.—*Teacher.* What is the character of the sound belonging\* to the 7th?—*A.* A tendency to ascend.—*Teacher.* Sing 'the 7th.'"

If the pupils cannot remember it they should be made to repeat the exercise we have already given on leading notes, after which they could not fail to sing the two words "and said" correctly.

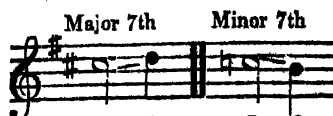
Another passage in the same anthem would give the teacher an opportunity of saying something about modulation.



"*Teacher.* How many sharps did you say there were in the key of D?—*Answer.* Two.—What are they?—*A.* F sharp and C sharp.—*Teacher.* If I take C sharp away, what key would the signature then represent?—*A.* The key of G.—*Teacher.* In what key then is the last note of the second bar, where the natural occurs?—*A.* The key of G.—What interval is it in the key of G?—*A.* The fourth.—The teacher may here explain that C natural is both the 4th of G

\* The teacher will take a future opportunity of explaining that the key of B minor has also two sharps.

and the minor 7th of D, and the characteristic difference between the sounds of the two 7ths might be again pointed out."

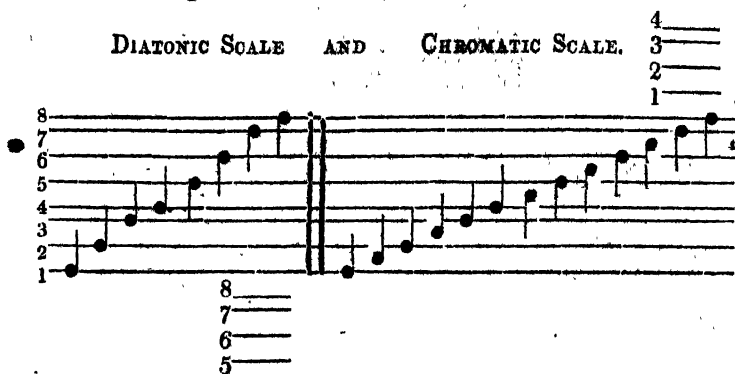


In this way the class may be made to analyse the whole of a composition, taking sometimes the more easy passages, but not in regular order, and at other times the more difficult; the pupils finding out for themselves, by the directions given, the sounds required, until they are perfect in every part. And observe the advantage of this method of intellectual analysis; every step is felt to be a step gained, because the pupils, while acquiring a knowledge of the principles of music, they are mastering a composition worth singing, to which they will return again and again with pleasure, instead of wearily drudging through interminable solfeggio exercises, or an air constructed in defiance of all the rules of melody, for the sake of embodying certain difficulties, and rather calculated to destroy the taste for music than to increase the pupil's love for the art.

Another profitable exercise for a class in reading music in different keys, would be to rule upon slates the staff\* now in use, and another staff, constructed on the principles of the diatonic scale, and employ the pupils in translating music from the present staff, which represents the intervals of the scale but imperfectly, to the diatonic staff, which shows them as in a picture. By a diatonic staff we mean a staff consisting of eight lines, a line for every note, and five spaces for the semitones (and the semitones only) arranged as on the following page:

\* There is a schism among musicians, whether this should be written *staff* or *stave*, pronounced by some *staaf*. Authorities are mostly in favour of "stave," but custom may be pleaded for "staff," and *staves* in the plural. We prefer *staff* as marking more emphatically than *stave*, the distinction between singular and plural, and as agreeing with the construction of the English language, as *staff*, *staves*; *leaf*, *leaves*; *loaf*, *loaves*, &c.

**DIATONIC STAFF,**  
Showing the intervals as they might be written.



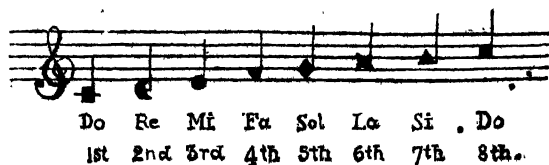
The following will illustrate our meaning of translating music from the present staff into the diatonic staff.



KEY OF TREBLE D.

In a similar manner the teacher might write a passage upon the diatonic staff, and desire the pupil to translate it into music as now written, showing it on the present staff, in the key of A, or any other key he might name.

M. Jue de Berneval, in order to enable his pupils at once to recognise the intervals, in whatever key they may be written, employs in his earlier lessons what he calls "*a monogammic alphabet*," giving different forms to the notes, each interval having a separate form to distinguish it from the rest.



These characters have a puzzling look, but the principle on which they are applied is perfectly simple, and would soon be mastered by the pupil. M. Jue, however, only proposes to use them in his introductory exercises, and as these are all sufficiently easy to be sung without any such aid, we think his monogammic alphabet might be dispensed with altogether. The methods of intellectual analysis we have described, with his own excellent plan of teaching his pupils to analyse the intervals by ear, we are of opinion, better answer the purpose.

The remarks we have made upon intervals will enable the reader to understand an objection which we may here introduce against the attempt made in the work published by the Committee of Council to supersede the letters of the alphabet, A, B, C, D, &c., given as names to the fixed sounds, by substituting in every case the solfeggio syllables, Do, Re, Mi, &c.

All musicians throughout Europe are agreed upon the meaning of the letters A, B, C, D, &c., so that, if told that an overture had been composed in the key of G, every musician would understand what was meant; but to many (in England especially) it would not be clear what key was intended if it were said that the overture was composed in the key of Sol, because Sol and G are not universally received as convertible terms.

In Germany the solfeggio syllables, although beginning to be generally used in vocal exercises as preferable, for distinctness of enunciation, to the letters A, B, C, &c., are not invariably employed as substitutes for the letters, in naming the notes. In every German opera we have seen, when reference is made to a key note, it is expressed by a letter, not by one of the solfeggio syllables. In the last German school we happened to visit we found only the letters used during the singing lesson. In many schools in Germany we know the rule is different; but even in France and Italy, where the solfeggio syllables are the most common, it is still usual to write "Corni in C," not "Corni in Do;" and Rousseau, in his 'Dictionary of Music,' has given strong, and to us satisfactory, reasons for not employing the letters and syllables in precisely the same sense.

In England the solfeggio syllables have always been used in a variety of senses, many teachers having followed no rule but caprice. At first Guido's six syllables were sung thus—Ut, re, mi, fa, sol—Re, mi, fa, sol, la; then 'ut' and 're' were omitted, and four only were retained—Sol, la, mi, fa (corresponding with the Greek tetrachord, *te, ta, thê, to*). One writer says, "Above Mi, twice Fa, sol, la; under Mi, twice La, sol, fa." Another gives these syllables—"Do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, *tes*, do." The French claim the merit of adding to Guido's six syllables

the seventh, 'Si,' and the syllables now generally sung are—Do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, do; but these have been used by different teachers in quite opposite senses, and continue to be so used up to the present moment.

No conductor, therefore, at an English oratorio would employ these terms, because it would be quite certain, if he were to say, "Sing Mi flat," or "Fa sharp," his meaning would not be understood by perhaps the majority of those he addressed, all of whom would know what he meant if he said, "Sing E flat," or "Sing F sharp."\* The Committee of Council, however, entirely ignorant of the whole matter, and without any inquiry, insist that the rule of modern French and Italian vocal professors shall be adopted in England; that the treble or G clef shall be called the Sol clef; the bass clef, the Fa clef; and that A, B, C, D, E, F, G, shall henceforth be banished the musical vocabulary. The alphabet will be too much for them notwithstanding; but as there is quite a superstition in the musical world respecting the solfeggio syllables, to which some mysterious power is attributed, most professors (Edward Taylor and a few others excepted), imagining that singing cannot be taught without these mystical terms, we shall devote a few words to the object they are supposed to serve.

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\* "In one particular the volume is strangely deficient. The pupil will begin and finish it without knowing the names of his notes. They are designated, not A, B, C, according to the universal practice in England (only once adverted to), but Do, Re, Mi, and so on. The advantages of the latter nomenclature are very questionable, since the syllables employed convey no idea of sequence, like the letters of the alphabet, and are besides likely to create confusion. According to one system of what is termed 'solfaing,' the Mi shifts with the key, and the other syllables of course; while, according to the other, which Mr Hullah adopts, the syllables represent always the same notes. We are accustomed to call the notes by the letters of the alphabet, which at once suggest to the mind of the learner the order in which they follow—a system of nomenclature obvious, easy, and incapable of mistake. But turn one of Mr Hullah's pupils into any English orchestra, and he will be ignorant of the very language which is spoken and written by every performer in it. He will, literally and not by a figure of speech, be ignorant of the difference between A and B. Mr Hullah's book, therefore, in this important respect, is not, as its title imports, 'adapted to English use.' All attempts—and they are as old as the time of Matthew Locke—to alter our musical notation, have come to nothing; and if the 'Committee of Council' had known anything of music, they would have discountenanced the present attempt. Another master has carried his notions of change yet further, and taught his pupils to sing—and to sing with great facility and correctness—from a musical notation of his own; but, educated in profound ignorance of crotchets and quavers, they are unfortunately incompetent to read any compositions in which these or the other musical characters universally employed are adopted."—*Spectator*, July 10, 1841.

That object is of a threefold character ;—relating to Intonation, Articulation, and Sight-singing.

It is in the first of these senses chiefly that they are employed by M. Mainzer ; and every one must admit that Do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, are better for singing than B, C, D, E, G, which have all the same close sound, and although distinct to the eye, are not equally so to the ear. For the improvement, however, of intonation, the best syllable is *la*, because an open sound, which cannot be sung with the teeth shut, as in the case of C, D, &c., or 'Mi,' and 'Si.' For this reason we observe the syllable 'La' is the only one used by M. Mainzer in his introductory *two-part* exercises.

To improve the articulation of a pupil, too much neglected, and generally sacrificed to intonation,—to teach a pupil to enunciate his words in singing, so that they shall be understood by his audience, a better exercise than the solfeggio syllables would be one upon the vowels, and they might be so arranged as to include the three principal sounds of A, thus—

Ah, a, e, i, o, u, and, Ah.

In teaching the art of sight-singing—an art rarely taught by Italian professors, whose fashionable pupils only sing to the harp or pianoforte—there is but one mode of using the solfeggio syllables in which they can be of the slightest use ; that is, by adhering to the rule laid down by Rousseau, and followed by many of the best of our English choral teachers, of identifying them, not with the fixed sounds expressed by the letters, but with the intervals of the diatonic scale : 'Do,' in every key representing the key note ; 'Re,' the second of the scale ; 'Mi,' the third ; 'Fa,' the fourth ; 'Sol,' the fifth, &c.\* Modern French and Italian professors and the present Government Manual, in departing from this rule, not only render the solfeggio syllables of no benefit to the pupil as far as sight singing is concerned, but a positive hinderance to his progress. To show this we must explain ourselves further.

One of the most popular English works on the 'Art of Singing at Sight,' is that of W. Forde ;† it is now lying before us. He calls the key note Do, as Rousseau would have done, in all

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\* Webbe's 'Solfeggio Exercises' are upon this principle, and we believe most of our best chorus singers have been taught upon the same plan. It is followed by Mr Fairbanks, the excellent teacher of a class of adults, meeting in the city, consisting of eighty pupils. The defects of the method usually followed by Italian professors are not felt by those who learn every air at the pianoforte.

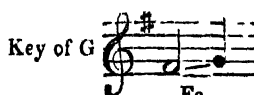
† Published by Cocks and Co. Price 2s.

the following instances :—(the second line will show how the same notes would be called by Wilhem and others :)—



We have already shown that the art of reading music at sight depends upon the ability to recognise at a glance the intervals of the scale in whatever key they may be written; that is to say, to distinguish at once not which is A or B, but which is the key note—which is the 3rd, 5th, 7th, &c. It will therefore at once be seen that Forde, by adopting Rousseau's rule for using the solfeggio syllables as names for the intervals, converts them into a most profitable exercise;—an exercise which compels the pupil to study the intervals in every bar he sings, and to give up guessing. A teacher upon this method, listening to his pupil, knows at once, by the syllable the pupil chooses, whether he recognises the interval of the scale to which the note belongs, or is taking no trouble about it. If in the key of D the pupil sing 'Re' for D, instead of Do, the teacher would at once perceive that his pupil did not understand the key in which he was singing.

Observe, now, the confusion and perplexity created by the opposite method of Wilhem. By incessantly singing the solfeggio syllables to the finger exercise, in which the intervals of the scale correspond with their natural order in the key of C, the pupil learns to associate (rightly enough) certain sounds with those syllables, but no sooner has this been done than the pupil is told, when in another key, to use the same syllables in singing *other* sounds; so that the association of ideas established in the first instance becomes a source of the greatest embarrassment in the second. For example :—We have already pointed out the different properties of the 4th and the 7th, the one tending downwards, the other upwards; yet, although F may sometimes be the 4th, and at other times the 7th, according to the key, and although F in the key of C differs half a tone from F in the key of G, it is always, we are told, to be called Fa.





We think it must be obvious from the preceding, that the solfeggio syllables thus employed tend to mislead the pupil rather than to assist him in learning the art of sight-singing. It is using words, as a lawyer would say, in the sense of a *suggestio falsi*.

M. Jue de Berneval partially overcomes the difficulty, by giving new names to all the notes when raised or depressed a semitone. Thus he calls F natural, Fa, and F sharp, Fay; B flat, Bo; &c.; but this appears to us to lead to unnecessary complexity. Solfeggio syllables only require to be used to a limited extent, but in employing them we would adhere to the rule of Rousseau. No other is so simple or so strictly in accordance with science. It involves some difficulty in singing exercises not written in the key of C, but not an unnecessary one; it is the very difficulty which must be grappled with after the pupil has passed through his introductory lessons, if he would learn to read music as readily in one key as another. We may add that, by departing from it, we leave ourselves without any names for the intervals beyond those given by the figures—1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; and the words *six* and *seven* are far from being well adapted for musical expression.\*

We now take our leave of a manual to which the patronage of the French Government has given a reputation the method would never have obtained from its own intrinsic merit, and never would have acquired, notwithstanding its high patronage, had the subject been generally understood by literary critics. All the protection, however, of all the Governments in the world, will never make this book a popular elementary work. Here and there it may be tolerated by classes of senior pupils, but for children, for whom it is professedly designed, it is

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\* 'Ut' ou 'Re' ne sont point ou ne doivent point être telle ou telle touche du clavier; mais telle ou telle corde du ton. Quant aux touches fixes, c'est par des lettres de l'alphabet qu'elles s'expriment. La touche que vous appelez 'Ut,' je l'appelle C; celle que vous appelez 'Re,' je l'appelle D. Ce ne sont pas des signes que j'invente; ce sont des signes tout établis, par lesquels je détermine très-nettement la fondamentale d'un ton. Mais ce ton une fois déterminé, dites-moi, de grâce à votre tour, comment vous nommez la tonique que je nomme 'Ut' et la seconde, note que je nomme Re, et la médiate que je nomme Mi? Car ces noms relatifs au ton et au mode sont essentiels pour la détermination des idées et pour la justesse des intonations. Qu'on y réfléchisse bien et l'on trouvera que ce que les musiciens Français appellent solfier au naturel est tout à fait hors de nature. Cette méthode est inconnue chez toute autre nation et sûrement ne fera jamais fortune dans aucune: chacun doit sentir, au contraire, que rien n'est plus naturel que de solfier par transposition, lorsque le mode est transposé.—*Dictionnaire de Musique, par J. J. Rousseau, vol. ii, p. 223.*

especially unfit, and if forced upon them by the kind of teachers usually employed for teaching reading and writing to children, it will make them hate music, by connecting it with the most disagreeable associations of their lives.

When in a French school we have stood by and observed the listless expression on the faces of the junior classes engaged in their singing lesson,—when we have seen one child after another disgraced by being sent to the bottom of a class (a punishment now exploded with us) for mistaking the use of terms to them the most unintelligible, a sight at which Pestalozzi would have wept, we could cheerfully have assisted in flogging the master for his profound ignorance of the measure of a child's understanding, and for rendering a lesson, which might be made the most pleasant, one of the most painful exercises of a school.

Not by such methods will the love of song be nationalized in France. For England, in the present state of education, they are yet more unsuited, because in England there is no general organization system, nor adequate provision for the support of elementary schools, corresponding with that so liberally made by the French Government. To expect the ill-paid and over-worked masters of our British and National schools to qualify themselves for teaching singing upon this system, or cheerfully to undertake and persevere in the task of carrying their pupils through a long series of some of the most painfully elaborate solfeggio exercises ever written,\* and in doing this to attend to their other duties, is about as reasonable as it would be to expect them to teach the Hebrew or Chaldee languages on their present miserable stipends.

Some elementary notions of music might be communicated, and little more can be done in the humbler class of schools till they are better organized; but for simply awakening a taste for singing, and laying a foundation for attainments to be made in after life, the present work is the least fitted of any of the manuals we have seen now in use, the elementary part being precisely that in which Wilhem's method is the most deficient; and the principal merit of the work consisting in the exercises being so arranged as to embrace all the difficulties to be encountered in the art, without, however, effectually explaining how they are to be overcome.

The introduction of this manual into infant schools, where its failure is inevitable, or indeed, into the common elementary schools for older children, will, we fear, simply lead to an impression that music is one of the most impracticable of the sciences to the working class, and utterly unfit to be connected

with the kind of instruction suitable for children who remain at school but a very short period, through the poverty of their parents.

We know not whether our readers will share with us in this opinion, but by all it must be seen that the publication of the method by Government without revision, in its present English form, and "with all its imperfections on its head," was a precipitate and an ill-advised measure.

We again submit that the Committee of Privy Council should confine itself, for the present, to the task of preparing the legislative measures required for the education of the people. Let them enable local authorities to establish primary schools in every parish, and further, either establish themselves, or assist others to establish normal schools for the instruction of teachers. When such institutions have been formed, the most talented professors in every branch of science should be engaged, without any restriction upon the methods to be employed. In teaching music we should rejoice to see Mr Hullah appointed to one such institution; M. Mainzer to another; M. Jue de Berneval, or Mr Cook, to a third. This would be the way, not merely to test the superiority of any existing method, but to carry the best to a degree of perfection it never could obtain in the absence of all generous rivalry.

The Directors of such institutions and the Inspectors of public schools, meeting from time to time to compare notes as in Holland, would be enabled to report the success of the various methods, and to discuss their comparative merits. Of such materials a Board might be formed really qualified to prepare and revise elementary works worthy to supersede all others; and then, and not till then, should the sanction of Government be obtained, and her Majesty's Stationery Office be put in requisition, to give them universal circulation.

Our remarks have extended too far to allow us to conclude, as we had intended, with a sketch of the different modes in which a Government might promote a taste for music among a people, independent of school instruction, which is by no means the only mode, nor necessarily the most efficient. We believe Germany, Italy, France, and England, owe more to the services of the Roman Catholic Church for the love of music they have awakened, than to all the efforts of all the systematic teachers of solfeggio and counterpoint that have existed from the time of the middle ages to the present. The instances, however, are but few in which the English Church has imitated the example of its predecessor, and caused its own musical services to be worthily and efficiently performed. The Bishop of Derry,

when Dean of St Patrick's, introduced a reform, which his brethren of the Bench have as yet been slow to imitate, but imagine the change that would be produced in the taste, as well as in the church-going habits of the people, if, at an expense easily defrayed out of the immense revenues of the Church, every parish church in England were provided with as efficient a choir as St Patrick's in Dublin.

But there is another instrument in the power of Government for promoting a love of music, which would be attended with no expense. We allude to the military bands. Every regiment is provided with a military band, practising daily some of the finest compositions, but generally in a barrack yard out of sight and hearing. Why should not these bands, wherever quartered, be required to play for an hour before sunset, in some open place accessible to the people. The music would be a gratification to a large class of persons deprived of almost every other, and how many would it draw, on a fine summer's evening, out of the beer shop and public house! The band of the Guards now plays, at eleven o'clock, in the court yard of St James's palace, a time and place at which none but idlers can be present. Why not occasionally send the same band, at a more suitable hour, to Kennington common or Bethnal green? What would it cost? Absolutely nothing. How much it would tend to popularize a Government manifesting such a desire to promote the innocent enjoyments of the people, we need not stop to discuss.

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ART. II.—*The Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M., Principal of the University of Glasgow, 1637—1662.* Edited from the Author's Manuscripts, by David Laing, Esq. In 3 vols. (vols. 1 and 2). Robert Ogle, Edinburgh, 1841.

EARLY in the seventeenth century of our era, a certain Mr Robert Baillie, a man of solid wholesome character, lived in moderate comfort as parish minister of Kilwinning, in the west of Scotland. He had comfortably wedded, produced children, gathered Dutch and other fit divinity-books; saw his duties lying tolerably manageable, his possessions, prospects not to be despised; in short, seemed planted as for life, with fair hopes of a prosperous, composed existence, in that remote corner of the British dominions. A peaceable, "solid-thinking, solid-feeding," yet withal clear-sighted, diligent, and conscientious man, alas! his lot turned out to have fallen in times such as

he himself, had he been consulted on it, would by no means have selected; times of controversy, of oppression, which became explosion and distraction; instead of peaceable preaching, mere raging, battling, soldiering; universal shedding of gall, of ink, and blood: very troublous times! Composed existence at Kilwinning, with rural duties, domestic pledges, Dutch bodies of divinity, was no longer possible for a man.

Till the advent of Laud's Service-book into the High Church of Edinburgh (Sunday the 23rd of July, 1637), and that ever-memorable flight of Jenny Geddes's stool at the head of the Dean officiating there, with "Out, thou foul thief! wilt thou say mass at my lug?"—till that unexpected cardinal-movement, we say, and the universal, unappeasable riot, which ensued thereupon over all these Kingdoms,—Baillie, intent on a quiet life at Kilwinning, was always clear for some mild middle course, which might lead to this and other blessings. He even looked with suspicion on the Covenant when it was started; and was not at all one of the first to sign it. Sign it, however, he did, by and by, the heat of others heating him ever higher to the due welding pitch; he signed it, and became a vehement, noteworthy champion of it, in such fashion as he could. Baillie, especially if heated to the welding pitch, was by no means without faculty. There lay motion in him; nay, curiously, with all his broad-based heaviness, a kind of alacrity, internal swiftness, and flustering impetuosity,—a natural vehemence, assiduous swift eagerness, both of heart and intellect: very considerable motion; all embedded, too, in that most wholesome, broad-based love of rest! The eupeptic, right-thinking nature of the man; his sanguineous temper, with its vivacity and sociality; an ever-busy ingenuity, rather small perhaps, but prompt, hopeful, useful; always with a good dash, too, of Scotch shrewdness, Scotch *canniness*; and then a loquacity, free, fervid, yet judicious, *canny*; in a word, natural vehemence, wholesomely covered over and tempered (as Sancho has it) in "three inches of old Christian fat,"—all these fitted Baillie to be a leader in General Assemblies and conclaves, a man reputable to the London Parliament and elsewhere. He became a prominent, and so far as the Scotch Kirk went, pre-eminent man; present in the thick of all negotiations, Westminster Assemblies, Scotch Commissions, during the whole Civil War. It can be said, too, that his natural faculty never, in any pitch of heat or confusion, proved false to him; that here, amid revolt and its dismal fluctuations, the worthy man lived agitated indeed, but not unprosperous. Clearly enough, in that terrible jostle, where so many stumbling fell, and straight-way had their lives and fortunes trodden out, Baillie did, accord-

ing to the Scotch proverb, contrive to "carry his dish level" in a wonderful manner, spilling no drop; and indeed was found at last, even after Cromwell and all sectaries had been there, seated with prosperous composure, not in the kirk of Kilwinning, but in the Principalship of Glasgow University; which latter he had maintained successfully through all changes of weather, and only needed to renounce at the coming in of Charles II, when, at any rate, he was too old for holding it much longer. So invincible, in all elements of fortune, is a good natural endowment; so serviceable to a man is that same quality of motion, if imbedded in wholesome love of rest,—hasty vehemence dissolved in a bland menstruum of oil!

Baillie, however we may smile at him from this distance, was not entirely a common character: yet it must be owned that, for anything he of himself did, or spoke, or suffered, the worthy man must have been forgotten many a year ago; the name of him dead, non-extant; or turning up (as the doom of such is) like the melancholy mummy of a name, under the eye of here and there an excavator in those dreary mines,—bewildered, interminable rubbish-heaps of the Cromwellian Histories; the dreariest, perhaps, that anywhere exist, still visited by human curiosity, in this world. But his copious loquacity, by good luck for him and for us, prompted Baillie to use the pen as well as tongue. A certain invaluable "Reverend Mr Spang," a cousin of his, was Scotch minister at Campvere, in Holland, with a boundless appetite to hear what was stirring in those days; to whom Baillie, with boundless liberality, gives satisfaction. He writes to Spang, on all great occasions, sheet upon sheet; he writes to his wife, to the moderator of his presbytery, to earls and commoners, to this man and to that; nothing loath to write when there is matter. Many public papers (since printed in Rushworth's and other Collections) he has been at the pains to transcribe for his esteemed correspondents; but what to us is infinitely more interesting, he had taken the further trouble to make copies of his own Letters. By some lucky impulse, one hardly guesses how,—for as to composition, nothing can be worse written than these Letters are, mere hasty babblements, like what the extempore speech of the man would be,—he took this trouble; and ungrateful posterity reaps the fruit. These Letters, bound together as a manuscript book, in the hands of Baillie's heirs, grew ever more notable as they grew older; copies, at various times, were made of parts of them; some three copies of the whole, or almost the whole, whereof one, tolerably complete, now lies in the British Museum.\* Another

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\* As in this Museum transcript, otherwise of good authority, the name of the principal correspondent is not "Spang," but "Strang," and we learn

usefuller copy came into the hands of Woodrow, the zealous, diligent historian of the Scotch Church, whose numerous manuscripts, purchased partly by the General Assembly, partly by the Advocates' Library, have now been accessible to all inquirers, for a century or more. Baillie, in this new position, grew ever notabler; was to be seen quoted in all books on the history of that period; had to be read and searched through, as a chief authority, by all original students of the same. Half a century of this growing notability issued at last in a printed edition of Baillie; two moderate octavo volumes, published, apparently by subscription, at Edinburgh, in 1775. Thus, at length, had the copious outpourings, first emitted into the ear of Spang and others, become free to the curiosity of all; purchasable by every one that had a few shillings, legible by every one that had a little patience. As the interest in those great transactions never died out in Scotland, Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' one of the best remaining illustrations of them, became common in Scottish libraries.

Unfortunately, this same printed edition was one of the worst. A tradition, we are told, was once current among Edinburgh booksellers that it had been undertaken on the counsel of Robertson and Hume; but, as Mr Laing now remarks, it is not a credible tradition. Robertson and Hume would, there is little doubt, feel the desirableness of having Baillie edited, and may, on occasion, have been heard saying so; but such an edition as this of 1775 is not one they could have had any hand in. In fact, Baillie may be said to have been printed on that occasion, but not in any true sense edited at all. The quasi-editor, who keeps himself entirely hidden in the back-ground, is guessed to have been one "Mr Robert Aiken, schoolmaster of Anderton,"—honour to his poor shadow of a name! He went over Baillie's manuscripts in such fashion as he could; "omitted many letters on private affairs;" copied those on public matters, better or worse; and prefixing some brief, vague 'Memoir of Baillie,' gathered out of the general wind, sent his work through the press, very much as it liked to go. Thanks to him, poor man,

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elsewhere that Baillie wrote the miserablest hand, a question arises, Whether *Strang* be not, once for all, the real name, and *Spang*, from the first, a mere false reading, which has now become inveterate? *Strang*, equivalent to *Strong*, is still a common name in those parts of Scotland. *Spang* (which is a Scottish verb, signifying *leap violently, leap distractedly*,—as an imprisoned, terrified kangaroo might leap) we never heard of as a Christian person's surname before! "The Reverend Mr *Leap-distractedly*," labouring in that dense element of Campvere, in Holland? We will hope not, if there be a ray of hope! The Bannatyne Club, now in a manner responsible, is adequate to decide.

for doing so much; not blame that, in his meagre garret, he did not do more! But it is to be admitted, few books were ever sent forth in a more helpless condition. The very printer's errors are numerous. Note or comment there is none whatever, and here and there some such was palpably indispensable; for Baillie, in the hurry of his written babblement, is wont to designate persons and things, often enough, in ways which Spang and the world would indeed understand at the time, but which now only critics and close investigators can make out. The narrative, watery, indistinct, flowing out in vague diffusion, at the first and best, fades now too frequently into the enigmatic, and stagnates in total obscurity if some little note be not added. Whom does the letter-writer, in his free and easy speed, intend to designate by such phrases as "his Lordship," "the Lord Marquis," his Grace, precious Mr David, the Reverend Mr H. of N.? An editor ought to tell; and has not tried there to do it. Far from doing it, he has even mistaken some of the initials themselves, and so left the natural dimness changed into Egyptian dark. Read in this poor Anderton edition, Baillie, in many passages, produces the effect, not of a painting, even of the hugest sign-post painting, but of a monstrous, foamy smear, resemblance of no created thing whatever. Additional outlays of patience become requisite, and will not always suffice. It is an enigma you might long guess over, did not perhaps indolence and healthy instincts premonish you that, when you had it, the secret would be worth little.

To all which unhappy qualities we are to add, that this same edition of 1775 had, in late times, become in the highest degree difficult to get hold of! In English libraries it never much abounded, nor in the English book-markets; its chief seat was always its native one. But of late, as would seem, what copies there were, the growing interest of whatsoever related to the heroes of the Civil War had altogether absorbed. Most interesting to hear what an eye-witness, even a stupid eye-witness, if honest, will say of such matters! The reader that would procure himself a Baillie to pore over, was lucky. The price in old-book shops here in London had risen, if by rare chance any copy turned up, to the exorbitancy of two guineas!

And now, under these circumstances, the Bannatyne Club, a private reunion of men who devote themselves expressly to the rescue and re-printing of scarce books and manuscripts, with or without much value, very wisely determined to re-edit Baillie; first, for their own private behoof; and secondly, as is their wise wont in some cases, and as in every case is easy for them (the types being already all set, and the printer's "compo-



sition" accomplished, as it were, gratis), for the behoof of the public that will buy. Very wisely, too, they appointed for this task their Honorary Secretary, the Keeper of the Edinburgh Signet Library, Mr David Laing, a gentleman well known for his skill in that province of things. Two massive octavos, in round legible type, are accordingly here; a third and last is to follow in a few months; and so Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' finally in right reading condition, becomes open, on easy terms, to whoever has concern in it. In right reading condition; for notes and all due marginal guidances, such as we desiderated above, are furnished; the text is rectified by collation of three several MSS., among others, Baillie's own, of the "evil handwriting" of which an appalling fac-simile gives evidence; the various Letters relating to private affairs are not excluded in this edition, but wisely introduced and given in full, as deserving their paper and ink perhaps better than the average. On the other hand, public papers, if easily accessible elsewhere, are withheld, and a reference given to the Rushworth, Hardwicke, Thurlow, or other such Collection, where they already stand; if not easily accessible, they are printed here in appendixes; and indeed not they only, but many more not copied by Baillie, some of them curious enough, which the editor's resources and long acquaintance with the literature of Scotch history have enabled him to offer. This is the historical description, origin, and genesis of these two massive octavos named 'Baillie's Letters and Journals,' published by the Bannatyne Club, which now lie before us; thus are they, and thence did they come into the world.

It remains now only to be added, critically as well as historically, that Mr Laing, according to all appearance, has exhibited his usual industry, sagacity, correctness in this case, and done his work well. The notes are brief, illuminative, ever in the right place; and, what we will praise withal, not over plenteous, not more of them than needed. Nothing is easier than for an antiquarian editor to seize too eagerly any chance or pretext for pouring out his long-bottled antiquarian lore, and drowning his text, instead of refreshing and illustrating it; a really criminal proceeding! This, we say, the present editor has virtuously forborne. A good index, a tolerable biography, are to be looked for, according to promise, in the third volume. Baillie will then stand on his shelves, accessible, in good reading condition: a fact which, since it is actually a fact, may with propriety enough be published in this journal, and in any and all other journals or methods, as widely as the world and its wants and ways will allow.

We have no thought here of going much into criticism of Baillie or his book; still less of entering at all on that enormous Business he and it derive their interest from,—that enormous whirlpool on which, the fountains of the great deep suddenly breaking up, the pacific, broad-based minister sees himself launched forth from Kilwinning kirk, and set sailing, and epistolizing! The book has become curious to us, and the man curious; much more so on a riper acquaintance than they were at first. Nevertheless our praise of him, hearty enough in its kind, must on all sides be limited. To the general, especially to the uninformed or careless reader, it will not be safe to promise much ready entertainment from this book. Entertainment does lie in it, both amusement and instruction do; but rather for the student than the careless reader. Poor Baillie is no epic singer or speaker,—the more is the pity! His book is like the hasty, breathless, confused *talk* of a man, looking face to face on that great whirl of things. A wiser man—would have talked *more* wisely! But, on the whole, this man too has a living heart, a seeing pair of eyes; above all, he is clearly a veracious man; tells Spang and you the truest he has got to tell in such a bustling hurry as his. Veracious in word; and we might say, what is a much rarer case, veracious in thought too; for he harbours no malignity, perverse hatred, purposes no wrong against any man or thing; and indeed, at worst, is of so transparent a nature, all readers can discern at all times where his bias lies, and make due allowance for that.

Truly, it is pity the good man had not been a little wiser, had not shown a little more of the epic gift in writing: we might then have had, as in some clear mirror, or swift contemporaneous *Daguerrotype* delineator, a legible living picture of that great time, as it looked and was! But, alas, no soul of a man is altogether such a mirror; the highest soul is only approximately, and still at a great distance, such. Besides, we are always to remember, poor Baillie wrote not for us at all; but for Spang and the Presbytery of Irvine, with no eye to us! What of picture there is, amid such vaporous, mazy indistinctness, or indeed quite turbulent, weltering dislocation and confusion, must be taken as a godsend. The man gazes as he can, reports as he can. His words flowing out bubble-bubble, full of zealous broad-based vehemence, can rarely be said to make a picture; though on rare occasions he does pause, and with distinctness, nay with a singular felicity, give some stroke of one. But rarely in his loquacious haste has he taken time to detect the real articulation and structure of the matter he is talking of,—where it begins, ends, what the real character and purport, the real aspect of it is: how shall he in that case, by any possibility, make a portrait of it? He talks with

breathless loquacity, with adipose vehemence, about it and about it. Nay, such lineaments of it as he has discovered and mastered, or begun to discover (for the man is by no means without an eye, could he have taken time to look), he, scrawling without limit to Spang, uses not the smallest diligence to bring out on the surface, or separate from the as yet chaotic, undiscovered; he leaves them weltering at such depth as they happen to lie at. A picture does struggle in him; but in what state of development the reader can guess. As the image of a real object may do, shadowed in some huge, frothy, ever-agitated vortex or deluge,—ever-agitated cauldron, boiling, bubbling, with fat vehemence!

Yet this too was a thing worth having: what talk, what babblement, the minister of rural Kilwinning, brought suddenly in sight of that great World-transaction, will audibly emit from him. Here it is, fresh and fresh,—after two centuries of preservation: how that same enormous whirlpool, of a British nation all torn from its moorings, and set in conflict and self-conflict, represents itself, from moment to moment, in the eyes of this shrewd-simple, zealous, yet broad-bottomed, rest-loving man. On the whole, is there not, to the eager student of History, something at once most attractive and yet most provoking in all Memoirs by a Contemporary? Contemporaneous words by an eye-witness are like no other. For every man who sees with eyes *is*, approximately or else afar off,—either approximately and in some faint degree decipherable, or too far off, altogether *undecipherable*, and as if vacant and blank,—the miraculous Daguerrotype-mirror, above mentioned, of whatever thing transacts itself before him. No shadow of it but left some trace in him, decipherable or undecipherable. The poor *soul* had, lying in it, a far stranger alchemy than that of the electric-plates: a living memory, namely, an intelligence, better or worse. Words by an eye-witness! You have there the words which a son of Adam, looking on the phenomenon itself, saw fittest for depicting it. Strange to consider: *it*, the very phenomenon itself, does stand depicted there, though under such inextricable obscurations, short-comings, perversions,—fatally eclipsed from us forever: for we cannot read it; the traces are so faint, confused, as good as non-existent to our organs: the light was so unfavourable,—the *electric-plate* was so extremely *bad*. Alas, you read a hundred autograph holograph letters, signed “Charles Rex,” with the intensest desire to understand Charles Rex, to know what Charles Rex was, what he had in his eye at that moment; and to no purpose. The summary of the whole hundred autographs is vacuity, inanity; like the moaning of winds through desert places, through damp empty churches:

what the writer did actually mean, the thing he then thought of, the thing he then was, remain forever hid from you. No answer; only the ever-moaning, gaunt, unsyllabled *woo-woo* of wind in empty churches! Most provoking, a provocation as of Tantalus; for there is not a word written there but stands like a kind of window through which a man *might* see, or feels as if he might see, a glimpse of the whole matter. Not a jolt in those crabbed angular sentences, nay not a twirl in that cramp penmanship, but is significant of all you seek. Had a man but intellect *enough*,—which, alas, no man ever had, and no angel ever had,—how would the blank become a picture all legible! The doleful, unsyllabled *woo-woo* of church-winds had become intelligible, cheering articulation; that tragic, fatal-looking, peak-bearded individual, “your constant assured friend, Charles Rex,” were no longer an enigma and chimera to you! With intellect *enough*,—alas, yes it were all easy then; the very signing of his name were then physiognomical *enough* of him!

Or, descending from such extreme heights and rarefactions,—where, in truth, human nature cannot long breathe with satisfaction,—may we not here deduce once more the humble practical inference, How extremely incumbent it is on every reader to read faithfully with whatever of intellect he has; on every writer, in like manner, to exert himself, and write his wisest? Truly the man who says, still more who writes, a wise word on any object he has seen with his eyes, or otherwise come to know and be master of, the same is a benefactor to all men! He that writes unwise words, again,—especially if on any great, ever-memorable object, which in this manner catches him up, so to speak, and keeps him memorable along with it,—is he not the indisputablest *malefactor*? Yes; though unfortunately there is no bailiff to collar him for it, and give him forty stripes save one; yet, if he could do better, and has not done it,—yes! Shall stealing the money of a man be a crime; and stealing the time and brains of innumerable men, generation after generation of men, be none? For your tenebrific criminal has fixed himself on some great object, and cannot perhaps be forgotten for centuries; one knows not when he will be entirely forgotten! He, for his share, has not brought light into the world according to his opportunity, but darkness; he is a son of Nox, has treacherously deserted to the side of Chaos, Nox, and Erebus; strengthening, perpetuating, so far as lay in him, the reign of prolixity, vacuity, vague confusion, or in one word, of stupidity and *misknowledge* on this earth! A judicious Reviewer,—in a time when the “abolition of capital punishments” makes such progress in both hemispheres,—would not willingly propose a new penalty of

*death*; but in any reasonable practical suggestion, as of a bailiff and forty stripes save one, to be doubled in case of relapse, and to go on doubling in rigid geometric progression till amendment ensued, he will cheerfully concur.

But to return. The above considerations do not, it is clear, apply with any stringency to poor Baillie; whose intellect, at best, was never an epic one; whose opportunities, good as they look, were much marred by circumstances; above all, whose epistolary performance was moderately satisfactory to Spang! We are to repeat that he has an intellect, and a most lively, busy one of its kind; that he is veracious, what so few are. If the cursory reader do not completely profit by him, the student of history will prosper better. But in this, as in all cases, the student of history must have patience. Everywhere the student of history has to pass his probation, his apprenticeship; must first, with painful perseverance, *read himself into* the century he studies,—which naturally differs much from our century; wherein, at first entrance, he will find all manner of things, the ideas, the personages, and their interests and aims, foreign and unintelligible to him. He as yet knows nobody, can yet care for nobody, completely understand nobody. He must read himself into it, we say; make himself at home, and acquainted in that repulsive foreign century. Acquaintance once made, all goes smoother and smoother; even the hollow-sounding “constant assured friend Charles Rex” improves somewhat; how much more this headlong, warm-hearted, blundering, babbling, “sagacious jolter-head” of a Baillie! For there is a real worth in him, spite of its strange guise:—something of the Boswell; rays of clear genial insight, sunny illumination, which alternate curiously with such babblement, oily vehemence, confused hallucination, and sheer floundering platitude! An incongruous, heterogeneous man; so many inconsistencies, all united in a certain prime-element of most turbid, but genuine and fertile *radical warmth*.

Poor Baillie! The daily tattle of men, as the air carried it two hundred years ago, becomes audible again in those pages: an old dead time, seen alive again, as through a glass darkly. Those hasty chaotic records of his, written down off hand from day to day, are worth reading. They produce on us something like the effect of a contemporaneous daily newspaper; more so than any other record of that time; much more than any of the *Mercuries*, ‘*Britannic*,’ ‘*Aulic*,’ ‘*Rustic*,’ which then passed as newspapers, but which were in fact little other than dull-hot obhurgatory pamphlets,—grown cold enough now. Baillie is the true newspaper; he is to be used and studied like one. Taken up in this way, his steamy indistinctness abates, as our eye

gets used to the steamy scene he lives in ; many a little trait discloses itself, where at first mere vacant confusion was discernible. Once familiar to the time, we find the old contemporaneous newspaper, which seemed mere waste paper, a rather interesting document. Nay, as we said, the Kilwinning minister himself by degrees gets interesting ; for there is a strange homely worth in him, loveable and ludicrous ; a strange mass of shrewd simplicities, naiveties, blundering ingenuities, and of right wholesome vitalities withal. Many-tinted traceries of Scotch humours, such as a Galt, a Scott, or a Smollett might have rejoiced over, lie in this man, unobliterated by the Covenant and all distance of time. How interesting to descry, faintly developed, yet there and recognisable through the depths of two dead centuries, and such dense garnitures and dialects all grown obsolete, the indubitablest traits of Scotch human-nature, redolent of the " West country," of the kindly " Salt market," even as this day still sees it and lovingly laughs over it ! Rubicund broad lineaments of a Nicol Jarvie, sly touches, too, of an Andrew Fairservice ; nay sputterings, on occasion, of the tindery tragic fire of an adust Lieutenant Leshmahago,—fat as this man is, and of a pacific profession ! We could laugh much over him, and love him much, this good Baillie ; but have not time at present. We will point out his existence ; advise all persons who have a call that way to read that same " contemporaneous newspaper " of his with attention and thanks. We give it small praise when we say, there is perhaps no book of that period which will, in the end, better reward the trouble of reading. Alas, to those unfortunate persons who have sat, for long periods, obstinately incurring the danger of locked-jaw, or suspension at least of all the thinking faculties, in stubborn perusal of Whitelocke, Heylin, Prynne, Burton, Lilburn, Laud, and Company,—all flat, boundless, dead and dismal, as an Irish bog,—such praise will not seem too promissory !

But it is time to let Baillie speak a little for himself ; readers, both cursory and studious, will then judge a little for themselves. We have fished up, from much circumambient indistinctness and embroiled babblement, a lucid passage or two. Take first that clear vision, made clear to our eyes also, of the Scotch encamped in warlike array under Field-Marshal Alexander Lesley, that " old little crooked soldier," on the slopes of Dunse Law, in the sunny days of 1639. Readers are to fancy that the flight of Jenny Geddes's stool, which we named a cardinal movement (as wrongs long compressed do but require some slight fugling-signal), has set all Scotland into uproar and violent gesticulation :

the *first* slight stroke of a universal battle and wrestle, with all weapons, on the part of all persons, for the space of twenty years or so,—one of the *later* strokes of which severed a king's head off ! That there were flockings of men to Edinburgh, and four "Tables" (not for dining at) set up. That there have been National Covenants, General Assemblies, royal commissioners; royal proclamations not a few, with protests of equal number; much ineffectual proclaiming, and protesting, and vociferating; then, gradually, private "drillings in Fife" and other shires; then public calling forth of the "twelfth penny," of the "fourth fencible man;" Dutch arms from Holland, Scotch officers from Germany,—not to speak of commissariat-stores, thrifty "webs of harding" (*canvas*) drawn "from the good wives of Edinburgh" by eloquent pulpit-appeals "of Mr Harry Rollock:"—and so, finally, this is what we discern on the pleasant conical Hill of Dunse, in the summer weather of 1639. For, as Baillie says, "they might see now that before we would be roasted with a slow fire, by the hands of churchmen who kepted themselves far aback from the same, we were resolved to make a bolt through the reek, and try to get a grip of some of those who had first kindled the fire, and still laid fuel to it,—and try if we could cast *them* in the midst of it, to taste if that heat was pleasant when it came near their own skins!" Proper enough;—and lo, accordingly:

"This our march did much affray the English camp: Dunse Law was in sight, within six or seven miles; for they lay in pavilions some two miles above Berwick, on the other side of Tweed, in a fair plain along the river. The king himself, beholding us through a prospect (*spy-glass*), did conjecture us to be sixteen or eighteen thousand men; but at one time we were above twenty thousand."

"It would have done you good to have casten your eyes athort our brave and rich Hill, as oft I did, with great contentment and joy. For I (quoth the wren) was thêre among the rest; being chosen preacher by the gentlemen of our shire, who came late with my Lord of Eglington. I furnished to half a dozen of good fellows muskets and pikes, and to my boy a broadsword. I carried, myself, as the fashion was, a sword and a couple of Dutch pistols at my saddle; but, I promise, for the offence of no man except a robber in the way; for it was our part to pray and preach for the encouragement of our countrymen, which I did, to my power, most cheerfully. Our Hill was garnished on the top, towards the south and east, with our mounted campon; well near to the number of forty, great and small. Our regiments lay on the sides of the Hill, almost round about: the place was not a mile in circle; a pretty round, rising in a declivity, without steepness, to the height of a bow-shot; on the top, somewhat plain; about a quarter of a mile in length, and as much in breadth;

as I remember, capable of tents for forty thousand men. The crowners\* lay in kennous\* (*canvas*) lodges, high and wide; their captains about them in lesser ones; the sojourns about, all in huts of timber covered with divot (*turf*) or straw. Our crowners, for the most part, were noblemen: Rothes, Lindsay, Sinclair had among them two full regiments at least, from Fife; Balcarras a horse-troop; Loudon," &c. &c. "Our captains were mostly barons, or gentlemen of good note; our lieutenants, almost all, sojourns who had served over sea in good charges. Every company had flying at the captain's tent door a brave new colour, with the Scottish arms, and this ditton, *For Christ's Crown and Covenant*, in golden letters."

"The councils of war were kept daily in the Castle of Dunse; the ecclesiastic meetings in Rothes's large tent. Lesley the general, and Baillie his lieutenant, came nightly on their horses for the setting of the watch. Our sojourns were all lusty and full of courage; the most of them stout young ploughmen; great cheerfulness in the face of all. The only difficulty was to get them dollars or two the man, for their voyage from home and the time they entered on pay: for among our yeomen money at any time, not to say then, used to be very scarce." "We were much obliged to the town of Edinburgh for monies: Harry Rollock, by his sermons, moved them to shake out their purses; the garnerers of Non-covenanters, especially of James Maxwell and my Lord Winton, gave us plenty of wheat. One of our ordinances was to seize on the rents of Non-covenanters,"—ane helpful ordinance, so far as it went.

"Our sojourns grew in experience of arms, in courage, in favour, daily: every one encouraged the other; the sight of the nobles and their beloved pastors daily raised their hearts. The good sermons and prayers, morning and even, under the roof of Heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells; the remonstrances, very frequent, of the goodness of their cause, of their conduct (*guidance*) hitherto by a hand clearly divine; also Lesley his skill and fortune,—made them all so resolute for battle as could be wished. We were feared (*afraid*) that emulation among our nobles might have done harm when they should be met in the fields; but such was the wisdom and authority of that old little crooked souldier, that all, with an incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, as if he had been Great Solymán. He kept daily, in the Castle of Dunse, ane honourable table: for the nobles and strangers, with himself; for the gentlemen waiters, thereafter at a long side-table. I had the honour, by accident, one day to be his chaplain at table, on his left hand. The fare was as became a general in time of war: not so curious by far as Arundel's, in the English camp, to our nobles; but ye know that the English sumptuousity,

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\* *Crowner*, *coroner*, and (to distinguish this officer from him who holds the inquests), *coronal*, which last is still intrinsically our pronunciation of the word now spelt *colonel*.



both in war and peace, is despised by all their neighbours,"—*bursten poke-puddings* of Englishers, whose daily care is to dine, not wisely but too well!

"But had ye lent your ear in the morning, or especially at even, and heard in the tents the sound of some singing psalms, some praying, and some reading scripture, ye would have been refreshed. True, there was swearing, and cursing, and brawling, in some quarters: but we hoped, if our camp had been a little settled, to have gotten some way for these misorders; for all, of any fashion, did regret, and all did promise to contribute their best endeavours for helping all abuses. For myself, I never found my mind in better temper than it was all the time frae I came from home, till my head was again<sup>st</sup> homeward; for I was as a man who had taken my leave from the world, and was resolved to die in that service without return. I found the favour of God shining upon me; and a sweet, meek, yet strong and vehement spirit leading me, all along. But, alas! I was no sooner on my way westward, after the conclusion of peace, than my old security returned."\*

This is the Scotch encampment on the Hill of Dunse; King Charles looking at it through a spy-glass, not without interest, from the plain above Berwick on the other side of the river. Could he have discovered the Reverend Robert Baillie riding thither from Kilwinning, girt with sword and Dutch pistols, followed by the five or six rough characters whom he had laid out hard cash to furnish with muskets and pikes, and to what a dreadful pitch the mind of the pacific broad-based man had now got itself screwed, resolute "to die on that service without return,"—truly, this also might have been illuminative for his Majesty! Heavy Baillie was an emblem of heavy Scotland, in the rear of which lay heavy England. But "our sweet Prince" discerned only the surfaces of things. The mean peddling details hid from him, as they still do from so many, the essential great meaning of the matter; and he thought, and still again thought, that the rising up of a million men, to assert that they were verily men with souls, and not automations with wires, was some loud-sounding pettiness, some intrigue,—to be dealt with by intriguing. Herein he fundamentally mistook; mis-saw,—and so *mis-went*, poor Prince, in all manner of ways: to the front of Whitehall ultimately!

But let us now, also through a kind of dim spy-glass, cast a far-off look into the domesticities of Baillie; let us glance,

\* We have used the freedom to modernise Baillie's spelling a little; about which, "as he could never fix," says Mr Laing, "on any constant way of spelling his own name," there need not be much delicacy; we also endeavour to improve his punctuation, &c., here and there; but will nowhere in the least alter his sense.

namely, through certain of these paper-missives, into that ancient manse of Kilwinning; all vanished now, to the last stone of it, long since; swallowed in the depths of edacious Time. The reader shall also see a journey to Town done on ponies, along the course of what is now the Great North-eastern Railway, working with so much more velocity by steam!

The "Treaty of Berwick," fruit of that Dunse-Law expedition of the Scotch people, has soon issued again in proclamations, in "papers burnt by the hangman;" and then in a new Scotch armament, lodged, this time, not on Dunse Hill, with uncertain monies from Mr Harry Rollock, but, by a bold movement through the Tyne at Newburn, safely in the town of Newcastle, with eight hundred pounds a-day from the northern counties: whereupon follows a new "Treaty of Rippon,"—fit also to be burnt by the hangman by and by. Baillie rejoices somewhat in the milk and honey of these northern counties, comparatively a fat, productive land. The heroic man, girt again with Dutch pistols, innocuous except to thieves, had made his will before departing on these formidable expeditions: "It will be my earnest desire," thus wills he, "that my wife be content with the annual-rent of seven thousand merk (*Scots*) from what is first and readiest, and that she quit judiciously what further she could crave by her very subdolous contract"—subdolous contract, I say, though not of her making; which she should *quit*. "What then remains, let it be employed for her children's education and profit. I would give to Robert five thousand merk, if he quit his heirship; the rest to be equally divided betwixt Harrie and Lillie. Three hundred merk to be distribute presently among the poor of the parish of Kilwinning, at sight of the session." All this we omit, and leave behind us in a state of comfortable fixity;—being bound now on a new mission: to the new Parliament (which will one day become a Long Parliament) just sitting down at present. Read these select fractions of letters "to Mrs Baillie at Kilwinning," dated November, 1840, on the road to London:

"My Heart,—I wrote to thee from Edinburgh; also, from Kelso, to Mr Claud, suspecting thy absence from home. I wrote to thee likewise here, in Newcastle, on Saturday last. Since, I thank God, I have been very weel, as thy heart could wish, and all my company.

"Yesternight the committee sent for me, and told me of their desire I should go to London with the commissioners. I made sundry difficulties; which partly they answered, and partly took to their consideration till this day. But now, at our presbytery after sermon, both our noblemen and ministers in one voice thought meet that not only Mr Alexander Henderson, but also Mr Robert Blair, Mr George Gillespie, and I, should all three, for divers ends,

go to London; Mr Robert Blair to satisfy the minds of many in England who love the way of New England (*Independency*) better than that of Presbyteries in our Church; I for the convincing of that prevalent faction (*Arminian Episcopals*) against which I have written; Mr Gillespie for the crying down of the English ceremonies, on which he has written; and all four of us to preach, by turns, to our commissioners in their house; which is the custom of divers noblemen at court, and was our practice all the time of the conference at Rippon. We mind to Durham, God willing, to-morrow; and other twelve miles on Saturday, to Darntoun (*Darlington*), there to stay all Sunday, where we hope to hear, before we cross the Tees on Monday, how things are like to frame in the English Parliament. Loudon is fashed with a defluxion; he will stay here till Monday, and come on as health serves, journey or post.

"They speak here of the prentices pulling down the High-Commission house at London; of General King's landing, with six or seven thousand Danes, in the mouth of the Thames, near London. We wish it were so; but we take it, and many things more you will hear, for clatters.

"My Heart, draw near to God; neglect not thy prayers morning and evening with thy servants, as God will help thee; read and pray, beside that, in private. Put Rob to the school; teach him and Harrie both some little beginnings of God's fear; have a care of my little Lillie. I pray thee write to me how thou and they are. Thy awne, R. Baillie. (Newcastle, 5 November, 1640.)"

"My Heart,—Thou sees I slip no occasion. I wrote to thee yesternight from Newcastle; this night I am in Durham, very weel, rejoicing in God's good providence.

"After I closed my letters, my boy Jamie was earnest to go with me; so, notwithstanding of my former resolution to send him home, I was content to take him. I spake to the General, and put in his name, as my man, in the safe-conduct. But, when I was to loup on (*to mount horse*), he failed me, and would go no farther! I could not strive then; I gave him his leave, and a dollar to carry him home. His folly did me great wrong; for if I should have gone back to bespeak ane other, I would have lossed my company: so without troubling myself, I went forward with my company, manless. But, behold the gracious providence of my God: as I enter in Durham, one of my old scholars, a preacher in Colonel Ramsay's regiment of horse, meets with me before I light; will have me to his chamber; gives me his chamber, stable, servant, a cup of sack, and all courtesy; gets me a religious youth, a trooper, ready with a good horse, to go with me to London. Major-General Baillie makes me, and all the Commissioners that were there, sup with him, and gives the youth his leave to go with me. Mr Archibald Johnston assures me for his charges, as well as my own. So my man James's foolish unthankfulness is turned about for my ten times better provision: I

take this for a presage and, ane erles (*earnest*) of God's goodness towards me all this voyage.

"We hope that Loudon's defluxion shall not hinder him to take journey on Tuesday. The morrow we intend but one other post to Darlington, and there stay till the Great Seal (*our safe-conduct*) come to us. The Lord be with thee and my babies, and all my flock and friends.—Thy awne, R. Baillie (Durham, 6 November, Friday.)"

"My Heart,—I know thou does now long to hear from me. I wrote to thee on Saturday was eight days [*dated Friday*], from Durhain. That day we went to Darlington, where Mr Alexander Henderson and Mr Robert Blair did preach to us on Sunday. At supper on Sunday, the post, with the Great Seal of England for our safe-conduct, came to us; with the Earl of Bristol's letter to Loudon, entreating us to make haste.

"On Monday we came, before we lighted, to Boroughbridge, twenty-five miles. On Tuesday we rode three short posts by Ferrybridge to Doncaster.\* There I was content to buy a bobbin waistcoat. On Wednesday we came another good journey to Newark-on-Trent, where we caused Dr Moyallie sup with us. On Thursday we came to Stamford; on Friday to Huntingdon; on Saturday to Ware; here we rested the Sabbath, and heard the minister, after we were warned of the end of the service, preach two good sermons,"—the service once well over, one gets notice, finds the sermons very fair!

On Monday morning we came that twenty miles to London before sun-rising;† all well, horse and man, as we could wish; divers merchants and their servants with us on little naigs; the way extremely foul and deep. Our journeys being so long and continued, and sundry of us unaccustomed with travel, we took it for God's singular goodness that all of us were so preserved: none in the company held better out than I and my man, and our little noble naigs. From Kilwinning to London I did not so much as stumble: this is the fruit of your prayers. I was also all the way full of courage, and comforted with the sense of God's presence with my spirit. We were at great expenses on the road. Their inns are all like palaces; no wonder they extorse their guests: for three meals, coarse enough, we would pay, together with our horses, sixteen or seventeen pound sterling. Some three dish of creevishas (*écrevisses*), like little partans (*miniature lobsters*), two-and-forty shillings sterling."—Save us!—"We lodge here in the Common Garden (*Covent Garden*); our house-mails (*rent*) every week above eleven pound sterling.

\* "Feirbrig, Toxford, and Duncaster," Baillie writes here; confusing the matter in his memory; putting Tuxford north of Doncaster, instead of south and subsequent.

† Sunrise on the 16th of November.

The city is desirous we should lodge with them; so to-morrow I think we must fit.

"All things here go as our heart could wish. The Lieutenant of Ireland (*Strafford*) came but on Monday to town, late; on Tuesday, rested; on Wednesday, came to Parliament; but, ere night, he was caged. Intolerable pride and oppression cry to heaven for vengeance."

"Tuesday here was a fast; Mr Blair and I preached to our Commissioners at home, for we had no clothes for outgoing. Many ministers used greater freedom than ever here was heard of. Episcopacy itself beginning to be cried down, and a Covenant cried up, and the Liturgy to be scorned. The town of London and a world of men mind to present a petition, which I have seen, for the abolition of bishops, deans, and all their appurtenances. It is thought good to delay till the Parliament have pulled down Canterbury (*Laud*) and some prime bishops, which they mind to do so soon as the King has a little digested the bitterness of his Lieutenant's censure. Huge things are here in working; the mighty hand of God be about this great work! We hope this shall be the joyful harvest of the tears that, these many years, have been sown in these Kingdoms. All here are weary of bishops.—R. Baillie (London, 18 November, 1640.)"

Weary of bishops, indeed; and "creevishies" at such a price; and the Lord Lieutenant *Strafford* caged, and Canterbury to be pulled down, and everywhere a mighty drama going on: and thou, meanwhile, my Heart, put Rob to the school, give Harry and him some beginnings of wisdom, mind thy prayers, quit subdolous contracts, "have a care of my little Lillie!" Poor little Lilas Baillie; tottering about there, with her foolish glad tattlement, with her laughing eyes, in drugget or other homespun frock, and antiquarian bib and tucker, far off in that old manse of Kilwinning! But she grew to be tall enough, this little Lillie, and a mother, and a grandmother; and one of her grandsons was Henry Home Lord Kaimés;\* whose memorial, and Lillie's, is still in this earth!

Greatly the most impressive of all the scenes Baillie witnessed in that mighty drama going on everywhere, was the trial of *Strafford*. A truly impressive, momentous scene; on which Rushworth has gathered a huge volume, and then and since many men have written much; wherein, nevertheless, several features would have been lost, had not the minister of Kilwinning, with his rustic open heart and seeing eyes, been there. It is the best scene of all he has painted, or hastily sign-painted, plastered, and daubed. With careful industry, fishing as before

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\* Woodhouselee's 'Life of Kaimés.'

from wide wastes of dim embroilment, let us snatch here and there a luminous fragment, and adjust them as is best possible; and therewith close our contemporaneous newspaper. Baillie's report, of immense length and haste, is to the Presbytery of Irvine, and dated May, 1641. We give two earlier fractions first, from letters to Mrs Baillie. Strafford, on that fasting Tuesday, when the pulpits were so loud against bishops, was reposing from fatigues of travel. On the morrow he repaired to his place in Parliament, nothing doubting; "but ere night he was caged."

*Wednesday, 17 November, 1640.*—"The Lower House closed their doors; the Speaker kept the keys till his accusation was concluded. Thereafter Mr Pym went up, with a number at his back, to the Higher House; and in a short pretty speech, did, in name of the Lower House, and in name of the Commons of all England, accuse Thomas Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, of high treason, and required his person to be arrested till probation might be heard. And so Pym and his train withdrew; and thereupon the Lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion.

"The word goes in haste to the Lord Lieutenant where he was with the King. With speed he comes to the House; he calls loudly at the door; James Maxwell, Keeper of the Black-rod, opens. His lord-ship, with a proud glooming countenance, makes towards his place at the board-head; but at once many bid him void the House. So he is forced, in confusion, to go to the door till called again."—Called again, "he stands, but is commanded to kneel on his knees; after hearing their resolution, he offers to speak, but is commanded to be gone without a word.

"In the outer room, James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword; when he had gotten it, he cries with a loud voice for his man 'to carry my Lord Lieutenant's sword.' This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach; all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom, that morning, the greatest of England would have stood uncovered; all crying, 'What is the matter?' He said, 'A small matter, I warrant you!' They replied, 'Yes, indeed, high treason is a small matter!'"

*Saturday, January 30, 1641.*—"The Lieutenant this day was sent for. He came from the tower by water, with a guard of musqueteers; the world wondering, and at his going out and coming in, shouting and cursing him to his face.

"Coming into the Higher House, his long charge, in many sheets of paper, was read to him. For a while he sat on his knees before the bar; then after they caused him sit down at the bar, for it was eight o'clock before all was read. He craved a month to answer."

*May 4, 1641.*—"Reverend and dear brethren." \* \* "The

world now seeth that the delay is alone upon their side. Their constant attendance on Strafford is pretended to be the cause, and truly it is a great part of the reason why our business and all else has been so long suspended. Among many more, I have been ane assiduous assistant; and therefore I will give you some account of what I have heard and seen in that most notable process.

“Westminster Hall is a room as long, as broad, if not more, than the outer house of the High Church of Glasgow, supposing the pillars were all removed. In the midst of it was erected a stage, like to that prepared for our Assembly at Glasgow, but much larger; taking up the breadth of the whole house from wall to wall, and of the length more than a third part.

“At the north end was set a throne for the King, a chair for the Prince; before it lay a large woolsack, covered with green, for my Lord Steward, the Earl of Arundel;\* and then lower, two other woolsacks for my Lord Keeper and the Judges, with the rest of the Chancery, all in their red robes. Beneath this, a little table for four or five clerks of the Parliament in their black gowns. Round about these, some forms covered with green frieze, whereon the Earls and Lords did sit in their red robes, of that same fashion, lined with the same white ermine-skins, as you see the robes of our Lords when they ride in Parliament at Edinburgh. The Lords on their right sleeves have two bars of white skins; the Viscounts two and ane half; the Earls three; the Marquess of Winchester three and ane half. England hath no more Marquesses; and he but one late upstart creature of Queen Elizabeth’s.

“In front of these forms where the Lords sit, is a bar covered with green. At the one end of it standeth the committee of eight or ten gentlemen appointed by the House of Commons to pursue (*prosecute*); at the midst there is a little desk, where the prisoner Strafford sits or stands as he pleaseth, together with his keeper, Sir William Balfour, the Lieutenant of the Tower. At the back of this is another desk for Strafford’s four secretaries, who carry his papers, and assist him in writing and reading. At their side is a void for witnesses to stand. Behind them is a long desk, close to the wall of the room,† for Strafford’s counsel at law, some five or six able lawyers, who were not permitted to dispute in matter of fact, but questions of right, if any should be incident. This is the order of the House below on the floor; the same that is used daily in the House of Lords.

“Upon the two sides of the House, east and west, there arose a stage of eleven banks of forms, the highest touching almost to the roof. Every one of these forms went from the one end of the room to the other, and contained about forty men. The two highest were divided from the rest by a rail; and a rail cutted off from the rest, at every end, some seats. The gentlemen of the Lower House

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\* This is he of the *Arundel Marbles*: he went abroad next year.

† Temporary wooden wall; from east to west, as Baillie counts the azimuths.

did sit within the rail; other persons without. All the doors were kept very straitly with guards: we always behoved to be there a little after five in the morning. My Lord Willoughby Earl of Lindsey, Lord Chamberlain of England, ordered the House with great difficulty. James Maxwell, Black-rod, was great usher; a number of other servant gentlemen and knights attended. We, by favour, got place within the rail, among the Commons. The House was full daily before seven. Against eight the Earl of Strafford came in his barge from the Tower, accompanied by the Lieutenant and a guard of musqueteers and halberdiers. The Lords in their robes were set about eight; the King was usually there half an hour before them.

"The King came not into his throne, for that would have marred the action; for it is the order of England, that when the King appears, he speaks what he will, and no other speaks in his presence. But at the back of the throne there were two rooms on the two sides; in the one did Duke de Vanden, Duke deVallet, and other French nobles sit; in the other the King, the Queen, Princess Mary, the Prince Elector, and some court ladies. The tirlies (*lattices*), that made them to be secret, the King brake down with his own hands; so they sat in the eye of all; but little more regarded than if they had been absent: for the Lords sat all covered; those of the Lower House, and all others except the French noblemen, sat uncovered when the Lords came, and not else. A number of ladies were in boxes above the rails, for which they paid much money. It was daily the most glorious assembly the isle could afford, yet the gravity not such as I expected. Oft great clamour without about the doors: in the intervals, while Strafford was making ready for answers, the Lords got always to their feet, walked and clattered (*chatted*); the Lower House men, too, loud clattering. In such sessions, ten hours long, there was much public eating, not only of confections, but of flesh and bread; bottles of beer and wine going thick from mouth to mouth, without cups; and all this in the King's eye: yea, many but turned their back, and"—(Good Heavens!)"—"through the forms they sat on. There was no outgoing to return; and oft the sitting was till two, three, or four o'clock."

Strangely in this manner, no "dignity of history" in the smallest obstructing us, do we look, through these rough and ready Scotch words, through these fresh Kilwinning eyes, upon the very body of the old time, its form and pressure, its beer and wine bottles, its loud clattering and crowding. There it is, visually present: one feels as if, by an effort, one could hear it, handle it, speak with it. How different from the dreary vacuity of most "philosophies teaching by experience" is the living picture of the fact; such as even a Boswell or a Baillie can give, if they will but honestly look! In spite of haste, we must continue a little further; catch a few more visualities:



"The *first session* was on Monday, March 22 (1641). All being set, as I have said, the Prince on a little chair at the side of the throne, the Chamberlain and Black-rod went and fetched in my Lord Strafford. He was always in the same suit of black, as if in dool. At the entry he gave a low courtesy; proceeding a little, he gave a second; when he came to his desk, a third; then at the bar, the fore-face of his desk, he kneeled; rising quickly, he saluted both sides of the House, and sat down. Some few of the Lords lifted their hats to him. This was his daily carriage.

"My Lord Steward, in a sentence or two, showed that the House of Commons had accused the Earl of Strafford of high treason; that he was there to answer; that they might manage their evidence as they thought meet. They thereupon desired one of their clerks to read their impeachment. I sent you the printed copy long ago. The first nine articles, being but generalities, were passed; the twenty-eight of the farther impeachment were all read. The clerk's voice was small; and after the midst, being broken, was not heard by many.

"My Lord of Strafford was, in his answer, very large, accurate, and eloquent. A preamble, wherein," &c.: this he spoke; and then a long paper, of particular answers to the twenty-eight charges, was read. "The reading of it took up large three hours. His friends were so wary that they made three clerks read by turns, that every one might hear. . . . After all, Strafford craved leave to speak; but the day being so far spent, to two or three o'clock, he was refused; and the Lord Steward adjourned the House till the morrow at eight.

"The second session, on Tuesday 23rd. The King and Queen and all being set as the day before, Mr Pym had a long and eloquent oration, only against the preamble of Strafford's answer, wherein he laboured to—" . . . "The first witness, Sir Pierce Crosby, who—"

"When Pym had ended, the Earl required time, if it were but to the morrow, to answer so heavy charges, many whereof were new. After debate pro and contra, one of the Lords spake of adjourning their House; and pressed their privilege, that at the motion of any one Lord the House behoved to be adjourned. So the Lords did all retire to their own House above, and debated among themselves the question for a large half-hour. "During their absence, though in the eye of the King, all fell to clattering, walking, eating, toying, but Strafford, in the midst of all the noise, was serious with his secretaries, conferring their notes, and writing. The Lords returned; the Steward pronounced their decision: that the matters spoken being all of fact, and this only in answer to his own preamble, he should make an answer without any delay. So, without sign of repining, the Earl answered something to all had been said; instance—"

"Wednesday, 24th.—Mr Maynard handled the first of the

twenty-eight articles," with witnesses, &c. In his reply, the Earl first required permission to withdraw and collect himself: this was refused. "He made an excellent answer." "It were tedious to repeat all their quick passages.

"The third article, 'That he would make the King's little finger heavier than the loins of the law,' this was proven by sundry. Among others, Sir David Foulis, whom he had crushed, came to depose. He excepted against this witness, as one who had a quarrel with him. Maynard produced against him his own decree, subscribed by his own hand, that whereas Sir David had brought before him the same exception against a witness, he had decreed that a witness for the King and Commonwealth must be received, notwithstanding any private quarrels. When he saw his own hand, he said no more, but in a jesting way, 'You are wiser, my Lord Steward, than to be ruled by any of my actions as patterns!'"

On quitting all order of "sessions," let us mark here and there, in "this notable process," a characteristic feature, as we can gather it. Mark, in general, the noble lone lion at bay; mark the fierce, winged and taloned, toothed and rampant enemies, that in flocks, from above and from beneath, are dashing at him!

"My Lord of Strafford required, farther, to answer to things objected the former day; but was refused. He required permission to retire, and advise about the present objections; but all that he obtained was a little time's advisement in the place he was in. So hereafter, it was Strafford's constant custom, after the end of his adversary's speech, to petition for time of recollection; and obtaining it, to sit down with his back to the Lords, and most diligently read his notes, and write answers, he and his secretaries, for an half hour, in the midst of a great noise and confusion, which continued ever till he rose again to speak."—

"For this he produced Sir William Peunymen as witness; a member of the Lower House, who, both here and many times else deposed point-blank all he required. Mr Maynard desired him to be posed (for no man there did speak to any other, but all speech was directed to my Lord Steward), 'When, and at what time, he was brought to the remembrance of those words of my Lord Strafford's?' All of us thought it a very needless motion. Sir William answered, 'Ever since the first speaking of them, they were in his memory; but he called them most to remembrance since my Lord Strafford was charged with them.' Maynard presently caught him, 'That he behoved, then, to be answerable to the House for neglect of duty; not being only silent, but voting with the rest to this article, wherein Strafford was charged with words whereof he knew he was free!' There arose, with the word, so great an hissing in the House, that the gentleman was confounded, and fell a-weeping.

"Strafford protested, he would rather commit himself to the

mercy of God alone, giving over to use any witness in his defence at all, than that men, for witnessing the truth, should incur danger and disgrace on his account.”—

“So long as Maynard was principal speaker, Mr Glyn lay at the wait, and usually observed some one thing or other; and uttered it so pertinently that, six or seven times in the end, he got great applause by the whole House.”—

“I did marvel much, at first, of their memories, that could answer and reply to so many large alledgeances, without the missing of any one point; but I marked that both the Lieutenant when they spake, and the Lawyers when he spake, did write their notes; and in their speeches did look on those papers. Yea, the most of the Lords and Lower House did write much daily, and none more than the King.”—

“My Lord Montmorris was called to depose, in spite of Strafford’s exception.” \* \* \* “In his answers Strafford alledged, concerning Lord Montmorris, the confession of his fault under his own hand;” “that no evil was done to him, and nothing intended but the amendment of his very loose tongue:—if the gentlemen of the Commons House intended no more but the correction of his foolish tongue, he would heartily give them thanks!”—

“\* \* \* Concerning the Lord Deputy’s scutching of a gentleman with a rod.” \* \* \*

“The other part of the article was his executing one Thomas Dennitt, who after a long want of pay, craving it from his captain, was bidden be gone to the gallows. He went his way, but was brought back, and said to have stolen ane quarter of beef: for this he is sentenced to die, and albeit some noblemen had moved the Deputy’s lady to be earnest for his life, yet without mercy he was execute.”—

“Glyn showed that daily there came to their hands so much new matter of Strafford’s injustice, that if they had their articles to frame again, they would give in as many new as old. Strafford stormed at that, and proclaimed them ane open defiance. Glyn took him at his word; and offerd instantly to name three-and-twenty cases of injustice, whercin his own gain was clear. He began quickly his catalogue with Parker’s paper, petition. Strafford, finding himself in ane ill taking, did soon repent of his passionate defiance, and required he might answer to no more than he was charged with in his paper.” (Seventh session, 29th March.)

“Strafford said, ‘That tho’ his bodily infirmity was great, and the charge of treason lay heavy on his mind; yet that his accusation came from the honourable House of Commons, this did most of all pierce through his soul.’ Maynard alleged ‘That he (Strafford), by the flow of his eloquence, spent time to gain affection;’—as, indeed, with the more simple sort, especially the ladies, he daily gained much. He replied quickly, ‘That rhetoric was proper to these gen-

lemen, and learning also; that betwixt the two he was like to have a hard bargain.' Bristol was busy in the meantime, going up and down, and whispering in my Lord Steward's ear; whereupon others, not content cried, 'To your places, to your places, my lords!'—"

"Maynard applied it vehemently, that he had subverted law, and brought in ane arbitrary power on the subjects' goods for his own gain."

"Mr Glyn showed, 'The Earl of Strafford was now better than his word: he had not only made Acts of State equal to Acts of Parliament, but also his own acts above both.'"

"He (Strafford) answered, 'That his intention in this matter was certainly good; 'that when he found the people's untowardness, he gave over the design.' Maynard answered, 'That intentions cleared not illegal actions; that his giving over before *tens* of thousands were starved, maketh him not innocent of the killing of thousands,'—sarcastic Learned-sergeant!

"The Earl of Clare and others debated with Vane (the elder Vane) sharply, What '*this* kingdom' did mean; England, or only perhaps Ireland? Maynard quickly silenced him: 'Do you ask, my lord, if this kingdom be this kingdom or not?'"

My learned friends! most swift, sharp are you; of temper most accipitral,—hawkish, aquiline, not to say vulturish; and will have this noble lamed lion made a dead one, and carrion useful for you!—Hear also Mr Stroud, the honourable member, standing "at the end of the bar covered with green cloth," one of the "eight or ten gentlemen appointed to prosecute," how shrill he is:

"The Deputy said, 'If this was a treason, being informed as he was, it behoved him to be a traitor over again, if he had the like occasion.' \* \* \* Mr Stroud took notice of Strafford's profession to do this over again. He said, 'He well believed him; but they knew what the kingdom suffered when Gaveston came to react himself!'"

This honourable member is one of the Five whom Charles himself, some months afterwards, with a most irregular *non-constabulary* force in his train, sallied down to the House to seek and seize,—remembering this, perhaps, and other services of his! But to proceed:

"My Lord Strafford regretted to the Lords the great straits of his estate. He said 'he had nothing there but as he borrowed.' Yet daily he gave to the guard that conveyed him ten pound, by which he conciliated much favour; for these fellows were daily changed, and wherever they lived they talked of his liberality. He said, 'his family were, in Ireland, two hundred and sixty persons, and the House of Commons there had seized all his goods. Would not

their lordships take course to loose that arrest from so much of his goods as might sustain his wife and children in some tolerable way?" (Thirteenth session, 3rd April.)

"Garraway, mayor the last year, deposed, 'That to the best of his remembrance, he (Strafford) said, no good would be gotten till some of the aldermen were hanged.' While Strafford took vantage at the words, *to the best of my remembrance*, Garraway turned shortly to him, and told out punctually, 'My lord, you did say it?' Strafford thereupon, 'He should answer with as great truth, albeit not with so great confidence, as that gentleman, to the best of his remembrance he did *not* speak so. But if he did, he trusted their goodness would easily pardon such a rash and foolish word.'

"Thursday, 8th April; session *fourteenth*.—The twenty-eighth article they passed. All being set, and the Deputy brought to the bar on his knees, he was desired to say for himself what he would, that so the House of Commons may sum up all before the sentence." He craved time till to-morrow. The Commons objected. "Yet the lords, after some debate, did grant it."

"The matter was" (*sixteenth* session), "Young Sir Harry Vane had fallen by accident among his father's papers"—Ah yes, a well known accident! And now the question is, Will the Lords allow us to produce it? "The Lords adjourn one hour large: at their return their decree was against the expectation of all;"—an ambiguous decree, tending obliquely towards refusal, or else new unknown periods of delay!

"At once the Commons began to grumble. Glyn posed him, On *what* articles he would examine witnesses, then? They did not believe that he wanted to examine witnesses, but put him to name the articles. He named one,—another,—a third,—a fourth; and not being like to make an end, the Commons on both sides of the House rose in a fury, with a shout of 'Withdraw! Withdraw! Withdraw!'—get all to their feet, on with their hats, cocked their beavers in the King's face. We all did fear it would grow to a present tumult. They went all away in confusion. Strafford slipped off to his barge and to the Tower, glad to be gone lest he should be torn in pieces; the King went home in silence; the Lords to their house."

Session *sixteenth* vanishes thus, in a flash of fire! Yes; and the "harsh untunable voice" of Mr O. Cromwell, member for Cambridge, was in that shout of "Withdraw!" and Mr Cromwell dashed on his rusty beaver withal, and strode out so,—in those wide nostrils of his a kind of snort. And one Mr Milton sat in his house, by St Bride's Church, teaching grammar, writing Areopagitics; and had dined that day, not perhaps without criticism of the cookery. And it was all a living coloured time, not a gray vacant one; and had length, breadth, and thickness, even as our own has!—But now, also, is not that a *miraculous* spy-

glass, that perceptive faculty, soul, intelligence, or whatsoever we call it, of the Reverend Mr Robert Baillie of Kilwinning? We still see by it,—things stranger than most preternaturalisms, and mere commonplace “apparitions,” could be. “Our fathers, where are they?” Why, *there*; there are our far-off fathers, face to face; alive,—and yet not alive; ah no, they are visible but *unattainable*, sunk in the never-returning Past! Thrice endeavouring, we cannot *embrace* them; *ter manus effugit imago*. The Centuries are transparent, then;—yes, more or less; but they are impermeable, impenetrable, no adamant so hard. It is strange. *To be, To have been*: of all verbs the wonderfulest is that same. The “Time-element,” the “crystal prison!” Of a truth, to us Sons of Time, it is the miracle of miracles.—These thoughts are thrown out for the benefit of the curious.

One thing, meanwhile, is growing plain enough to everybody: those fiery Commons, with their “Withdraw! Withdraw!” will have the life of that poor prisoner. If not by free verdict of their lordships, then by bill of attainder of their own; by fair means, or by less fair, Strafford has to die. “Intolerable pride and oppression cry to Heaven for vengeance.” Yes, and Heaven has heard; and the earth now repeats it, in Westminster Hall here,—nay, worse still, out in Palace yard, with “horrible cries and imprecations!” This noble baited lion shall not escape, but perish,—be food for learned sergeants and the region kites! We will give but one other glimpse of him: his last appearance in Westminster Hall, that final speech of his there; “which,” says Baillie, “you have in print.” We have indeed: printed in ‘Whitelocke,’ and very copiously elsewhere and since;—probably the best of all speeches, everything considered, that has yet been printed in the English tongue. All readers remember that passage,—that pause, with tears in the “proud glooming countenance,” at thought of “those pledges a saint in Heaven left me.” But what a glare of new fatal meaning, does the last circumstance, or shadow of a circumstance, which Baillie mentions, throw over it:

“He made a speech large two hours and ane half. \* \* To all he repeated nought new, but the best of his former answers. And in the end, after some lashness and fagging, he made such ane pathetic oration, for ane half hour, as ever comedian did upon a stage. The matter and expression were exceeding brave; doubtless, if he had grace or civil goodness, he is a most eloquent man. One passage made it most spoken of: his breaking off in weeping and silence when he spoke of his first Wife. Some took it for a true defect of his memory; others, and the most part, for a notable part of his rhetoric: some that true grief and remorse at that remembrance had stopped his mouth. For they say that his first Lady,

the Earl of Clare's sister, being with child, and finding one of his whore's letters, brought it to him, and chiding him therefore, he strook her on the breast, whereof shortly she died."

Such is the drama of life, seen in Baillie of Kilwinning; a thing of multifarious tragic and epic meanings, then as now. A many-voiced tragedy and epos, yet with broad-based comic and grotesque accompaniment; done by actors *not* in buskins;—ever replete with elements of guilt and remorse, of pity, instruction, and fear! It is now two hundred years and odd months since these Commons members, shouting, "Withdraw! Withdraw!" took away the life of Thomas Wentworth Earl of Strafford; and introduced, driven by necessity *they* knew little whither, horrid rebellions, as the phrase went, and suicidal wars into the bowels of this country. On our horizon too, there loom now inevitabilities no less stern; one knows not sometimes whether not very near at hand! They had the *Divine Right of Kings* to settle, those unfortunate ancestors of ours: Shall Charles Stuart and William Laud alone have a soul and conscience in this nation, under extant circumstances; or shall others too have it? That had come now to require settlement, that same "divine right;" and they our brave ancestors, like true stalwart hearts, did on hest of necessity manage to settle it,—by cutting off its head, if no otherwise.

Alas, we, their children, have got perhaps a still harder thing to settle: the *Divine Right of Squires*. Did a God make this land of Britain, and give it to us all, that we might live there by honest labour; or did the Squires make it, and,—shut to the voice of any God, open only to a Devil's voice in this matter,—decide on giving it to themselves alone? This is now the sad question and "divine right" we, in this unfortunate century, have got to settle! For there is no end of settlements; there will never be an end; the best settlement is but a temporary, partial one. Truly, all manner of rights, and adjustments of work and wages, here below, do verge gradually into error, into unbearable error, as the Time-flood bears us onward; and many a *right*, which used to be a duty done, and *divine* enough, turns out, in a new latitude of the Time-voyage, to have grown now altogether undivine! Turns out,—when the fatal hour and necessity for overhauling it arrives,—to have been, for some considerable while past, an inanity, a conventionality, a hollow simulacrum of use-and-wont; which, if it will still assert itself as a "divine right," having now no divine duty to do, becomes a diabolic wrong; and, by soft means or by sharp, has to be sent travelling out of this world! Alas, "intolerabilities" do now again in this new century "cry to Heaven;"—or worse, do not cry, but in

low wide-spread moan, lie as perishing, as if in Heaven there was no ear for them, and in earth no ear." "Elevenpence halfpenny a-week" in this world; and in the next world *zero*! And "sliding scales," and endless wriggings and wrestlings over mere "corn-laws:" a governing class, hired (it appears) at the rate of some fifty millions a-year, which not only makes no attempt at governing, but will not, by any consideration, passionate entreaty, or even menace as yet, be persuaded to eat its victuals, shoot its partridges, and not strangle out the general life by *mis*-governing! It cannot and it will not come to good.

We here quit Baillie; we let his drop-scene fall; and finish, though not yet in mid-course of his Great-Rebellion Drama. To prevent disappointment, we ought to say, that this of Strafford is considerably the best passage of his Book;—and indeed, generally, once more, that the careless reader will not find much profit in him; that except by reading with unusual *intensity*, even the historical student may find less than he expects. As a true, rather opulent, but very confused quarry, out of which some edifice might in part be built, we leave him to those who have interest in such matters.

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- ART. III.—1. *Martinuzzi*. A Tragedy. By George Stephens. London, 1841.
2. *The Stage, Before and Behind the Curtain*. By Alfred Bunn. London, 1840.
3. *Past and Present State of Dramatic Literature*. London, 1838.
4. *Stage Effect, or the Principles which command Dramatic Success in the Theatre*. By Edward Mayhew. London, 1840.

**A**MIDST the confused debates of energetic politicians, and the mooted of various questions of serious import, rendered sometimes rather ludicrous by the questioners, there has within the last few years arisen a small voice, spreading wider and wider every day, which to the speakers is also of infinite importance—we allude to the regeneration of the drama.

Every one must have heard the doleful complaints of "the decline of the drama," and of the ruinous speculations of theatricals. Newspaper critics find an inexhaustible source of pathos, and elderly gentlemen an undisguised source of triumph, in this



"decline," so different from the days of Kemble and Siddons! On the other hand, there are enthusiastic hopes of regeneration—"were only *our* plays acted!" Managers are abused in the most unmeasured terms; no meanness, no imbecility, no dishonesty, that obloquy and wounded vanity can invent, but has been cast on the heads of the poor, harassed, *ruined* managers, because they do not produce "unactable dramas."

This is a bad state of things. It surely is time to set the public right on the matter, and we will endeavour, for the sake of justice, to do so. For, it is to be observed, "the unacted" have it all their own way in this quarrel. They are either connected with the press, or have their wrongs advocated by the press. They are literary men, and can vilify in preface, treatise, or critique, as they please. Who is to answer them? Not the managers—they are not literary—they are mostly too busy to attend to anything of the kind. Not the public, for they have only one statement of the matter—the author's! Surely then, at the peril of braving all the unacted wrath, it is not unbecoming in us to say a word for these poor managers? *not* that we intend a defence,—for we are aware of the arrogance, insincerity, delays, and manifold infirmities to be justly charged on some of them, and have ourselves suffered many of the grievances of which the unacted complain,—but a statement of the matter as it really lies between the two parties, whereby the public may judge.

The error of authors is in persisting to attempt what they are unfitted to perform—the error of managers, in not honestly telling them so. This leads to anxiety, mortified vanity, and hatred, on the one hand—to insincerity, indecision, and discomfort, on the other. The drama being the most universal of literatures, every wight itching with that feverish *cacoëthes scribendi* which Juvenal deprecates, writes a tragedy or comedy. The consequence is, an influx of portly manuscripts every season quite incredible. Every one of those manuscripts is seen by the manager with horror; he knows, by long experience, that ninety-nine in the hundred will be altogether impracticable, and in every scroll he sees an *enemy*!\*

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\* "As respects authors, the difficulty is not so frightful in dealing with those of acknowledged reputation, as with those who are candidates for the glory of seeing their works on the stage, and themselves in print. Of some hundreds of pieces sent promiscuously by unknown writers to the manager, there was but *one* that was deemed fit for representation; and amongst those submitted by men of note, many were found fraught with danger and dismissed accordingly. As one instance I may mention a tragedy, of nearly 600 pages, written by an author totally unknown and likely ever to remain so, which was sent to me by a particular friend of mine, and strongly recommended by three others. The first was a moonlight scene, and in the opening soliloquy thereof the hero, gazing on the unclouded glory of Diana,

Act them he cannot, if sane; to refuse them is to mortify the vanity of the *irritable genus*—to make of each an enemy for life. No one doubts this, and yet we wonder at the insincerity of managers! Now let us put it to the candour of the reader:—Does he not know many who write tragedies or poems which they submit to him, and, however detestable he may think them, does he not always prefer uttering a few common-place compliments to mortifying the authors by the truth? and are these compliments ever looked upon as other than excusable insincerities? What, then, is the amount of this crime so lavishly bestowed on managers? They have to do with a conceited, irritable set of men, and employ exactly the same means which we all employ, however great our virtuous indignation at insincerity!

It never seems to have occurred to authors that managers never *asked* them for the liberal offers of their plays! One author, indeed, sent in his play with a letter very much like a command that it should be acted; but usually the manuscripts are sent there as geese to market—for purchase if they look tempting, for silent refusal if not. Really a manager is bound by no law of the land to produce a play that will not bring money into his treasury. The theatre is supported by authors' productions, 'tis true, but the manager would doubtless very much prefer making the application to the authors themselves, to their making their unasked applications to him. The author himself, wanting a goose, sends to his poulterer, and is accommodated; but what would he say did the poulterer (anxious to dispose of his geese) send them in flocks, cackling and hissing round his house, claiming his "immediate attention"—insisting on his leaving books and "articles" to shift for themselves, and to decide on them, that they might go elsewhere to be killed and eaten, in case of his refusal? The enraged author would forget all about "liberal offers," and send for a "police officer!"

Insincerity, then, we do not look upon as so great a fault in these circumstances. The manager is obliged to say to them, "Really you are excellent geese, the whiteness and luxuriance of your feathers are unexceptionable, and I look upon your web feet as equal to that of any goose in Shakspeare; but I'm afraid, under the present existing circumstances, you are not quite *plump* enough—appetites are so large, and butcher's meat so cheap, that I think I must, with sorrow and remorse, decline." Whereupon the geese cackle and hiss—declare they *are* plump!—declare that Mr Buggins has asserted the "uneaten geese to possess a *higher*

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accused her, despite her beauty and alleged chastity, of intriguing (with whom can the reader imagine?) with the *man in the moon!*"—*Bunn's Stage Before and Behind the Curtain*, vol. i, p. 78.

order of *plumpness* than the eaten.”\* Which fact is shrieked all over the market place.

It is alleged that managers endeavour to get rid of the pain of refusal by asking the author to write again. This, when true, is infamous. We will denounce its infamy as warmly as any one; but it is not always as thus stated. Managers perceiving evidences of dramatic power in a play, would naturally wish the author to “try again.” If the play have only such faults as can be amended, he is then requested to “alter it;” if it have fundamental errors, but, nevertheless, evinces dramatic capability, then it is hoped that another attempt may be more successful. Can an instance be quoted of a *dull* man having been asked to write again? But the truth is, there is no getting most authors to “alter.” They are so taken up with the conviction of their own merits, and undeniable superiority in literary matters to managers, that they refuse to accept the experience of the latter as of any weight. Managers are not judges of literature or works of art; but they know what they want, and are not bound to accept what they do not want. If a man refuses a diamond, estimating it as glass, you may impugn his judgment, but not his character.† We have heard of an author who would admit of no alteration (few indeed will, they think every line golden), repelling every objection which the manager brought forward as to expense, trouble, improbability of success, &c., with “Sir, I don’t know how that may be, but I have six tragedies, and all I say is, act them—only act them, sir!”

With regard to the delay in getting a definite “yes or no,” nay, the extreme difficulty of getting an answer at all, we must admit that this is a sore evil, and one which might be remedied by a little more courage and honesty on the part of managers. A man may be starving, and yet clinging to the hope that his play will be finally accepted. He is led on from week to week, from month to month, until the season closes, and his hopes are then defeated! As Spenser so finely says—

“Full little knowest thou that hast not tried,  
What hell it is, in suing, long to bide;  
To lose good days that might be better spent;

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\* “It is asserted, on the authority of Serjeant Talfourd, that the unacted drama possesses a higher order of *mind* than the acted.”—*Monthly Chronicle*.

† We will not praise the judgment of managers, unfortunately the acted drama presents but too many evidences against it. But if managers are not good judges, whose opinion is to be taken?—not that of the author’s surely?—not that of an actor (who will only consider his part)?—not that of a critic—for where is one to be found? Bad, then, as the judgment of managers may be, it must be abided by.

To waste long nights in pensive discontent;  
 To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;  
 To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;  
 To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;  
 To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs;  
 To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to ronne,  
 To spend, to give, to want, to be undone."

It is indeed a saddening contemplation, and one which the more earnestly calls for a reformation, owing to the extent of misery it produces. But, we repeat, this is not to be effected by abusing managers, but by insisting on the necessity of authors writing *actable* plays, on which point we shall dwell presently.

We beg attention to this fact:—Managers would be delighted to get good plays. It is obvious they would, inasmuch as they open the theatre on a commercial speculation, and therefore would be delighted with what brought money to the house. This fact is always overlooked; first, because it is seldom that good plays *are* produced (producers being scarce); and, secondly, because men of great talent, sometimes genius, cannot get their plays acted; and the authors and public leap to the conclusion that the managers have an instinctive horror of fine plays, and prefer ruining themselves with bad.\* It is not so. Managers would give large sums (and do give them) for good plays; and it is well that all men should know it. Revivals, to which they must resort in case they do not get new plays, always fall flat, and never have "a run," unless under peculiar circumstances. Collier quotes a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton, 1614, wherein he says, "Indeed our poets' brains and inventions are grown very dry, in so much that of five new plays there is not one that pleases, and therefore they are driven to furbish up their old, which stand them in best stead, and bring them most money."† Is not this our case?

We are referred to the published and unpublished dramas of very many writers as a proof that there are abundance of good plays if the managers would act them. This is worthy attention. Serjeant Talfourd has bestowed unqualified approbation on this unacted drama.‡ Others have been equally enthusiastic. How

\* Mr Stephens, in his closing address, deploras there being no "correlative law to check the *penchant* of those establishments for gorgeous revivals, five act farces, and meretricious spectacles." The answer is, "Because they cannot get anything better!"

† 'Hist. of Dram. Poet,' p. 391.

‡ We would beg to observe, that when Serjeant Talfourd said, "the unacted drama evinced more *mind* than the acted," he uttered a truth, but not one relative to the present question, which is not one of *mind* but of *drama*, not of *writing* but of *acting*.

then lies the matter? Why, that the very evidence they bring forward is suicidal! We have read and reviewed some considerable number of published dramas, but in no case do we think a manager would have been justified in bringing out one of them. Mr Horne is a man of the most unquestionable genius—has poetry and passion in a high degree; but are his playsactable? We think not.

“That there is something ‘rotten in the state,’” says Mr Tomlins, in his eloquent and timely work on the drama, “would be alone sufficiently proved by the fact, that the author of ‘Cosmo de Medici’ and the ‘Death of Marlowe,’ is not one of the foremost writers for the stage as he is for the study.” We agree with this entirely, but not for the reason implied. The rottenness is in the state of authorship, not of managership. Mr Horne has hitherto written only for the study; his plays are notactable. His best friends would agree in this. When he has produced a play constructed with reference to the necessities of the stage, which shall be admitted as rightly constructed (and he is capable of doing it—of fulfilling every demand if he chooses), then we shall be at liberty to accuse the other side, but not till then. No man practically acquainted with the stage would wonder, therefore, at the “vile state of the theatre which, so far from coveting, shuns such productions.” How can you expect a manager to spend sums of money on a romantic scheme of “elevating the drama?” His business is not a romantic one, but a commercial one. He must satisfy the public as well as himself or friends. But still further to narrow this question, we will quote from Mr Tomlins a list of dramas which he takes as illustrations. In his eloquent and forcible lecture on the ‘Relative Value of the Acted and Unacted Drama,’ he has throughout assumed that the unacted are immeasurably grand—the fit companions to Shakspeare and the old dramatists.” On this assumption rests the whole of his, together with all the unacted arguments; we will give this list, therefore, and let the reader judge. “If I am called upon to name some of these dramas, I name the ‘Cenci,’ ‘Alarcos,’ ‘Bride’s Tragedy,’ ‘Cosmo de Medici,’ ‘Gertrude and Beatrice,’ ‘Roman Brother,’ ‘Gregory VII,’ ‘Lords of Ellingham,’ ‘Ethelstan.’”

The including the ‘Cenci’ among these is unfair; the horrible nature of the subject alone unfits it for the stage; but of the rest (with all their high merits of poetry and passion, which none will deny them) we could not desire better illustrations of our argument. They are *unactable*; and when a critic, competent to judge beyond the poetry, and not be dazzled by it, shall have pronounced them *actable* (except, indeed, it be the deceptive but

friendly praise of a *letter*), then we will allow the argument to have force: but it is not so.

Mr George Stephens has endeavoured to convince the public of his claim, not alone by publishing, but by the more decisive (in his case fatal) method of hiring the English Opera-house—engaging actors at considerable salaries, and bringing out with every advantage his tragedy of ‘Martinuzzi.’ What has been the result?—Failure! In spite of the barefaced puffery with which it was preceded—in spite of the pathetic appeal to the sympathies of a “British public”—in spite of some fine acting, beautiful dresses, and abundant *claqueurs*—the tragedy failed. The audience were convulsed with laughter on the first night; and on every successive night throughout the month there was wearisomeness, yawning *claqueurs*, or a conviction on all sides that “managers were right.” Nevertheless, there was undeniable evidence that Mr Stephens had a real dramatic power, perception of character, great talent for impressive, powerful writing, although rioting in the most outrageous metaphors. We should say that if he would first diligently learn his art, we might yet expect fine and successful dramas from him. No one could have failed to perceive that, although Mr Stephens was not an ordinary poet, and that even in ‘Martinuzzi’ there were scenes of great power and dramatic effect, yet that no manager could have produced it with hopes of success. We do not merely allude to the extravagance of the writing, though we could earnestly counsel him, *uterque projicit ampullas et sesquipedalia verba*, but also to its crudeness; its want of clearness in story and motives; its employment of old and worn out stage-tricks of “letters,” “confidential villains who betray,” “cups poisoned before the victim’s face,” &c., and its want of art. That Mr Stephens should have lent himself to the disgraceful puffery which preceded and succeeded his tragedy, is only an instance of the fatal effects of vanity uncorrected by judgment. Booksellers, we are aware, unscrupulously alter critiques in their advertisements, but that Mr Stephens should countenance this, we own surprises us. To descend to particulars. In the announcement of ‘Martinuzzi’ various authorities were quoted in high and extravagant praise of the play. One of these was from the ‘Monthly Chronicle,’ which we remembered to have read, and which was an admirable but indisputable attack on the play in question—its reviewer having, indeed, wittily characterised it as belonging, not to the unacted, but unactable drama! Yet, by means of dexterous omissions—by applying the praise given to parts as if it had been bestowed on the whole—the result was most laudatory in Mr Stephens’ bill! This having been done with the only critique we had seen, are we not at liberty to pre-

sume that it had been so with all? Is this worthy of a champion of reform—an assertor of justice—an annihilator of abuses? We mean well to Mr Stephens—as well, perhaps, as those who have so uncompromisingly lauded him. We see errors which, as they are such as can be amended, if conscientiously attempted, we are the more urged to take notice of. These errors are mostly those he has in common with all the unacted dramatists, and are consequent on his position as a literary man studying his art in the closet. Will he accept our honest cheer and exhortation to continue, after the bitter truths we have been forced to utter?

“I fear very much,” said Sheridan, “that people go to the theatre to be amused.”\* There is much in this saying. It is well to lecture eloquently on the great moral instruction of the drama, but it would be better to lecture on the peculiar means of that moral instruction. The present reviewer, for one, will yield to none in estimation of the vital and lasting effects of the drama, which is truly a laical pulpit, but he honestly thinks “people go to the theatre to be amused.” Here, then, the dramatist’s office is plain—he should teach mankind through their amusements; sugar their pills, and they will swallow greedily, not for the sake of the pill, but the sugar; the pill works nevertheless. But if there be no amusement, no sugar—why, the pill is resolutely refused.† One great portion of mankind in these days of ours is beset with one idea—education! Teach, teach, teach! is the cry; not what nor how! The generation is one of cramming—not of digesting. “Reading maketh a full man,” said Bacon; which we interpret, “Being full of reading.” All the while they forget that man’s life is a “problem, not a theorem;” a thing to be acted, not to be schemed. They forget that teaching is a profound and mysterious art, and is not attained by horn books or sermons. We are sorry to see this didactic mania influencing the drama; we are sorry to see men forgetting that people are to be taught, in the drama, by actions from which they must draw their own reflections and conclusions, not by the reflections of the author;—by impressions, not by aphoristic or rhetorical wisdom. What-over earnest doctrine, therefore, the dramatist has to teach, let his first care be that it shall be so presented as to amuse while it teaches; that there be nothing pedantic about it wherefrom the audience may suspect his didactic design, for they do not like to be schooled; let them swallow their pill as sugar, and never doubt the effect!

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\* “Non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia sunt.”—*Hor.*

† “Eloquentia magister, nisi, tanquam piscator, eam imposuerit hamis escam, quam scierit appetituros esse pisciculos sine spe prædæ moratur in scopulo.”—*Petroneus.*

Poor Mr Alfred Bunn got terribly abused during his management for converting Drury lane into an amphitheatre for beasts and spectacles. It was undoubtedly a melancholy spectacle for those who loved the drama, and had visions of its "high and palmy days"—more especially melancholy to those who had written plays which they would have fain seen acted. But was Bunn to blame? He took the theatre with no heroic and exalted idea of "elevating the drama," but with the simple and intelligible one of making money. He tried the "legitimate," and failed;\* he tried the "illegitimate," and failed also. We think his failure punishment enough. He tried to amuse the public—had little faith in the unacted drama—had great faith in Van Amburgh and opera dancers. He paid for this; he was entitled to this. The public were not obliged to go; yet the public did go. It was a speculation on his part to amuse the public; and those who talk so loftily about the age of Elizabeth and Shakspeare—to whom this degradation of the stage is so heart-rending a spectacle—have forgotten that precisely the same complaints were made in those days—complaints of Frenchmen for whom "native talent" was neglected. Read Mr Collier's 'Annals of the Stage,' and you will see all this matter, as of the present day. "In the play of 'Narcissus,' a fox was let loose and pursued by real dogs!" The old tactics—endeavours to amuse. And the ponderous gravity of Johnson (a man none will accuse of predilection for trifles) is an authority. He says—

"The stage but echoes back the public voice;  
The drama's laws tho drama's patrons give,  
And we who live to please must please to live."

Nor is the abuse of managers a new thing. Even Shakspeare, little short of a God, as he is to us, was but a manager, obliged to refuse pieces, and be told that he "thinks himself the only *Shakescene* in the country." There, also, one might have heard complaints of the depravity of the audience, the ignorance of managers—"plays his 'Macbeths' and 'Othellos' when our tragedies are unacted!" A hard case! We will not defend Alfred Bunn or his management—we will not defend any manager that we have yet heard of; but we will state what we think to be a just advocacy of their conduct, and if we have not dwelt

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\* A constant argument is held forth of the incompetence of managers to judge of what the public require, by their repeated failures. They fail, it is true, but we refer to the figures in Mr Bunn's book, or to those of any manager's book, to prove that the "legitimate drama," i.e. Shakspeare, never drew money, except in the case of a new actor, or of some accidental and contingent cause. The size of the theatres and the salaries of actors are the causes of failure. •



enough on their faults, it is because *this* has been so much done by others, and *only* this.

We have said that authors persist in attempting what they cannot perform, viz., write plays; that managers would be delighted to get good plays; and that people go to the theatre to be amused. These three facts are the things needful for dramatists to attend to. If they wish to write "without reference to the stage," the field is open; but if they wish to succeed on the stage they must learn their art.

It is always overlooked that the drama is not alone poetry, but an applied form of poetry. This is admitted as an axiom, but disregarded as a practical guide. The drama is as much an art of itself, distinct from poetry, as painting is, the *fundus* of which is also poetry. A play is not alone language, passion, character, incident, not even story, but a peculiar combination and construction of these elements. An art of long and arduous study!

Plays written by actors or managers are almost always successful. Does not this fact indicate something? Such plays are mostly worthless as compositions; not always English; contain no new idea; no original glimpse of character—because their writers are not authors. Yet they succeed. The audiences are pleased, the house fills, the piece has its run, and is then never heard of again; that is, it succeeds and fails. It succeeds in that which commands success—its stage conditions; it fails from its own weakness and want of truth. The audiences are pleased with the bustle, action, non-flagging progression of the story. This suffices them for one night, but as it contains little more than this, it will not bear a second seeing, and so falls of itself. But it has realised the first demand of a play—its *stage-condition*! Had the actor been a poet, he would have satisfied both the demands of the stage and of the audience, and his play would have become a perpetual heir-loom.\* A drama must fulfil the conditions demanded by the stage for one season's success; if it aspire to more it must touch some chord of human nature, it must contain portions of the universal Life and aspects of universal Truth; it must "hold the mirror up to nature," and all men will claim it as their own. These are the two requisites, and

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\* A better illustration is not at hand than the comedy of 'London Assurance,' which was not inaptly termed 'Theatrical Assurance.' It is the production of an actor, Mr Bourcicault having formerly played low Irishmen at provincial and minor theatres;—more than the production of an actor it is not. As a comedy, it is sorry stuff indeed, and he seems to think as much in his preface. Nevertheless, though most of the unacted would have blushed to have written it, it is another evidence of the demand for its real merits—theatricality.

they are inseparable. We cannot too often repeat that it is on the primary stage-conditions (on the *dramaticness of the drama*) that all great poetry and passion must rest. No enduring palace is built with gorgeous marble alone; if the hand of the architect be not there, it will be no palace, but a heap of stones; and we may add, if the architect knows only beauty and proportion, but knows nothing of turning his materials to use, convenience, and comforts—if he be not also a builder, the palace, for all its beauty, will be uninhabitable. So with the drama. Poetry and passion, character and story, must be *built*. They must be applied to an express purpose. We must object also to this building—this art of stage-construction being looked upon as the mechanical part. It is only ignorance or conceit that will look upon it thus.

It is a most difficult and laborious art; they know it that have tried. Men who decry it either console their own weakness with a contempt for the mechanical, as they call it, or blindly insist on its being superfluous. Let any man endeavour to construct a story of action which shall develop a passion—let him select characters to illustrate his passion, and let him put them into positive and appropriate action, such as does in truth develop the passion, and he will find the enormous difficulty of avoiding the temptation to let them *talk* this; to let them *reason on their feelings* rather than *feel*; to let them *determine* to act or *describe their actions* rather than positively *act*; and the difficulty of making them only do such things as are consistent with their characters and the problem of the piece; of preserving the spiritual force and integrity of his characters through all “circumstances,” not allowing himself to be seduced by the temptation of letting circumstances in the play form and guide his characters, but to keep up their individualities through all these circumstances, whatever they may be, and to bring all deeds about naturally but not tediously; and of letting every act (*actus*) contain some deed, and every scene some positive advancement of the plot. These are the demands of this “mechanical part,” and let those who think them easy, try!\* The “unacted” talk a great deal about “construction,” but we have seen no evidences of it in their own works, nor in their theatrical writings have they given any definite description of what they mean. “Many of you authors,” said Mr Mathews to the writer, “produce excellent scenes, but it is so seldom I can get anything like a whole.” Truly enough! Authors do not understand the art of the stage.

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\* We do not say that all successful plays strictly adhere to this *programme*—it is an ideal portrait, and the nearer the approach to it the more unequivocal the success.

Alas! no; how should we? What means have we to learn our art except through repeated failures? How differently Shakspeare and his fellow-dramatists were situated in this respect, we know. They were all actors, managers, or else intimately connected with the theatre! They were poets; but the most important fact in their dramatic career was, that they were actors—that they learnt their art at the theatre. We are not so fortunate; the existence of the literary man is in these days of a different constitution, and our only means of learning the art is by diligent study, and drawing experience from failure. Mr Tomlins speaks of the “writers of high ability who have stooped themselves to the conventional demands of a corrupted stage;” and says, “Mr Knowles has done wonders, shackled as he has been by the state of the theatres.”\* This is splenetic and unwise. Shakspeare, Jonson, Massinger, Ford, Beaumont and Fletcher, “stooped to the conventional demands,” and were “shackled” as tightly as Mr Knowles. Genius makes light of such obstacles; nay, rightly considered, it is genius which alone can bend external circumstances to its will, turning them to profit; and one knows not for what genius was given, if not for this. Was Shakspeare not shackled? Read the ‘History of the Stage,’ and then compare. But see even out of the fact of not having women, but boys, to play the women’s parts, how he contrives to let us have a ‘Viola,’ an ‘Imogen,’ a ‘Portia!’—Shackles! After a man has broken the bonds of ignorance; faced Doubt and Disbelief; pierced through the mask of the man into his inner heart, and read there his secret motives, his tremendous passions, his all-surpassing beauty and grovelling weakness; after he has read the mysteries of nature, and freed himself from the shackles of prejudice, what can a few despicable hinderances of the stage affect him? The man whose soul has struggled with one great Idea, and conquered it, will not find much obstruction in material hinderances of the kind.

It is true that managers have a contempt for “the words” of a play, and lay the greatest stress on its construction, on situations, and the “parts” for actors, as it is very natural they should; and, if need were, we could deplore this depravity of taste at as great length and pathos as the most apostolic among dramatists could desire. But we contend, that it is the province of the dramatist, as the immeasurably superior being, to include all that the manager thinks, together with a whole world which the manager can never think; that he should accept of the practical experience, and comply with the practical demands of the mana-

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\* ‘Brief View of the English Drama,’ p. 106.

ger; and, *above all that*, place his great faculties, and put forth his cherished thoughts. It does not follow because the manager can see no more than what his faculties admit of, that no more should be there. Satisfy his first demand (which will be also the demand of the audience), and while satisfying that, also satisfy yourself by adding to it all you cherish of doctrine, wit, passion, or poetry. It is no objection to a play that it be well written, but it is a vital objection to it if it have nothing but the writing!

There are numbers of ~~men~~ <sup>men</sup>, endowed with very high faculties, who would write for the stage if they saw a chance of success. As a first and most imperative injunction we would say,—“Learn the art.” When once that is mastered, you may consider the game in your hands, and it will then depend upon your powers, upon your poetry, passion, and insight; but before this nothing can be done. Managers would welcome you, would facilitate your studies by their experience, and it is your own fault if you do not succeed. We must observe, that plays are sometimes written which would succeed, but that, owing to there being no actors to personate the leading parts, they are rejected. This is a hard case, but what avails declaiming at it? It is one of the “shackles” which Genius moves lightly under. If the author wish to have his play performed, he must accommodate himself to such necessities. A man who has written one such a play can easily write another which should not have that fault.

Be a perfect master of the art of stage-construction, and it is in the power of every man who has a moderate inventive faculty to write for the stage, and to succeed.\* Let it not be objected to us that we are degrading the drama,—that we wish to make of the dramatist a mere play-wright; no, we would only enforce that he must become a play-wright ere he can be a dramatist. Most men, indeed, stick there, and will continue to stick there for ever: it must always be so; for to be a dramatist in the great sense of the word is given but to very few. About a dozen includes nearly all the world has known of that species; all the others are but dramatists in a subordinate degree. Euripides, Massinger, Ford, Decker, Calderon, Lope de Vega, were more or less great as poets and play-wrights, but their dramatic power was only exhibited by fits and starts, in passages, not in complete delineations. We do not, then, look to see, under the most favourable circumstances of regeneration, a band of dramatists, but a band

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\* This “art of stage-construction” is here meant in the widest sense. Story, progression, situation, avoidance of long dialogues where not passionate, interest in the characters, &c., are all included in it. It is the ignorant who would limit construction to the mechanist and scene-shifter!

of more or less talented play-wrights; we would not pluck from out the heart of man the ambition—the “fondly dreamed” hope and aspiration, to be a dramatist;—let him hope, let him strive; there is nothing so baleful as not to have some great ideal, as a star to guide the wandering soul; all will be dark as starless night to him if he have it not. But when he wishes to succeed on the stage, then let him descend from his lofty and self-erected pedestal, and confront reality; let him humble his proud heart, and learn even of the play-wright,—or his idealisms, hopes, and aspirations will stand him in little ~~stead~~. Managers know nothing of such things: they know this one fact, that people come to the theatre to be *amused*; if you are too proud to “stoop to amuse them,” what business have you there? It is time that all the vague and grandisonant talk about the drama should cease, and that men should know that what Carlyle calls “realized ideals,” are not to be met with on this earth; that men should know definitely what they intend with regard to the drama, and what is required at their hands by the drama, and by managers; when that is known they can write for the stage or not, but at any rate will save themselves the anxieties and mortifications which they now suffer. They need not *suspendere naso* at the thoughts of “stooping to amuse the public”—greater men than they have done it; nor is it logical to confound this “amusement” with pandering to vulgar tastes—tickling “the ears of the groundlings;” they need not “degrade” their pieces by “clap-traps,” “horrors,” or “tawdry sentiment;”—there is no need of this; on the contrary, such things will go against them. By the legitimate employment of their art, they will “amuse” more, and more lastingly than any “spectacle” which that “enterprising manager,” Mr Bunn, set the force of his genius to produce. But then, dialogue without action, or a story without clearness and progression—which an audience always pronounces “heavy”—are not legitimate employments of their art—they are violations of the first principles of their art, and rank below even “situations,” and *coups de théâtre*, so much despised. We may place a word here on those much-decried *coups de théâtre*. They are dramatic; they are culminations of actions which strikingly arrest the attention and excite an audience; they are only undramatic when used ignorantly,—when, as in melodramas and unactable tragedies, they are dragged headlong in purely for their own sake, being really no culminations at all. Surely Shakspeare’s authority is sufficient in such a matter. What is the appearance of ‘Hermione’ (in ‘Winter’s Tale’) as a statue, but a *coup de théâtre*? Or the appearance of ‘Banquo’s’ ghost at the banquet? We need adduce no more instances, plentiful as they are. No; to amuse is not

degrading, but it is very *difficult*, and the difficulty is easier shirked by scorn than overcome by perseverance.

In the little treatise by Mr Mayhew on "Stage effect" (which though brief, crude, and imperfect, nevertheless contains excellent and judicious advice, which it would be well to study), there is a passage very much to our purpose :

"Action," says he, "is distinct from plot, inasmuch as a play may have continued action without any plot, or be defective in the action and yet perfect in the plot. The author, desirous of success, must never disregard action, which is more essential on the stage than even dialogue; for there are many kinds of theatrical amusements without dialogue, but no species of dramatic representation, from tragedy to monologue, without action. Of late years a fear has arisen among those who write for the higher or legitimate drama, of corrupting their pieces by the violence of their action, or rendering them melodramatic. This fear springs from want of consideration, and was unknown to the older dramatists. A melodrama is defective in action, possessing too little rather than too much; for it is brought only to a certain point called a situation, and then is interrupted. In Shakspeare's plays the action is always continued; various arts are used to assist it. In the quieter parts, where the action is naturally slow, numbers are generally introduced to give what the actors graphically term 'bustle' to the scene; customs are often illustrated; nor were masks, songs, and dances considered by him illegitimate helps to supply the deficiency. The reverence for continued action is the secret of the success which commonly attends pieces written by gentlemen of the theatre, and authors who have imbibed 'actorial' sympathies, from intimacy with the green-room. The words (as the literary portion of the drama is termed in the theatre) are by these authors held of secondary-importance; and, to a certain point, their principle is a true one, though literally acted on the higher qualities of the drama perish in the womb. Till the plot is fully conceived and planned into acts and scenes—and these have been made complete by the addition of action—every deed elaborated, every movement understood; till this is clear in the mind's eye, 'the words' should, if possible, not be thought of—as out of the action the words should spring."

We will suggest one thing to the reflection of poets. Pleased with poetry in others when reading it in the closet, highly pleased with their own poetry when penning it, they are but too apt to imagine that an audience will sit patiently and listen, delighted to hear it when delivered from the stage.\* Without arguing the

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\* And let the dramatist, of all things, beware of allowing his pleasure in an emotion, or a description, to lead him away and indulge in it. Concision and decision are the first elements of dramatic dialogue. With a firm, bold and rapid hand he should hit off a description or emotion, not with a lax,

point, we would observe, that not even Shakspeare's unapproachable writing, supported as it is by the unbounded, almost religious, veneration paid to his name, can effect this. Some of his plays are unactable—many "heavy." His poetry, his humour, his knowledge of character, and his dramatic spirit avail nothing—the audience are "tired" in spite of themselves, and pronounce them "heavy." We need not refer to Beaumont and Fletcher, Jonson, Massinger, Ford, Webster, Marlowe, Decker, Middleton, Shirley, &c., of whose pieces (even when not prevented by the subjects), so many are exquisitely *written* but will not *amuse*—no, we rely on Shakspeare's name, against which even the most mad vanity dares not oppose itself.

In connexion also with the plays of Shakspeare, we could rectify one very widely spread error with respect to "alterations of the text." Every one must have witnessed the devout horror of critics at the sacrilege committed by managers in "daring to alter the text of Shakspeare;"—no infamy, they fancy, can be greater; and when Mr Macready announced plays "from the text of Shakspeare," his friends were in ecstasies, and proclaimed that the true regenerator of the drama had appeared; on the other hand other critics, not so blinded by friendship, finding that in his representations there were still numberless omissions, &c., furiously denounced the whole as a humbug! "No word that the divinè Shakspeare ever wrote should be omitted—let us have all or none." Eloquent cries these, and easily uttered from the arm-chair; but could these denunciators have sat out a performance of the entire play? Honestly, we think, the humbug lies on the side of the critics!

Humbug or ignorance—there lies the cause! Either humbug, for the sake of declamation, confounding our desire to preserve every word as a brick in his literary monument, with our desire of being amused at a theatre; or else ignorance, pedantic ignorance of the nature of the stage;—utter forgetfulness of Sheridan's maxim! There is no play of Shakspeare's that is not studied with avidity; but even those students would yawn at the representation of some of them, and as for performing any one verbatim, it would be "wasteful and extravagant excess." We state these as known facts, not as opinions. We may criticise the taste in which an alteration is made; it of course might be better made, or we may reasonably object to the interpolation of other men's scenes (though it was done with great success by Sheridan Knowles, in Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Maid's Tragedy,' and

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vacillating, and metaphorical exhausting of the subject. He should touch on many things, but exhaust none. And the fortitude to *restrain* poetry is the most difficult of all dramatic requisitions.

acted for two seasons as the 'Bridal'—no one exclaiming about sacrilege!)—but to say that, "an' they had the tediousness of a king," they should be "bestowed upon our worships," to the manifest deficit in the manager's purse, is, we repeat, pedantic ignorance. We will support our position by two magnificent pillars of German philosophy and poetry—and the Germans are notorious, as venerating and illustrating Shakspeare, more than all Europe, and performing him oftener; and they are, moreover, notorious as a patient, stolid public, who will sit out five-act operas, and who will accept of a greater proportion of dialogue to action than any other people of Europe—from Germany then, we select the two greatest names, Hegel and Göthe, as authorities.

Hegel in his 'Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik' (b. i, p. 356), says :

"In Shakspeare's historical plays there is much which must be foreign to us, and which cannot interest us. Reading them we are satisfied—at the theatre not. Critics and connoisseurs, indeed, declare that they require such historical gems at the representation, and abuse the degraded taste of the public which can be *ennuyé* at them. But art and its enjoyment are not for the learned and *cognoscenti* alone, but for the public; and the critics need not be so lofty, for they themselves belong to that public, and are confounded with it, and neither for them can really historical accuracy or trifles have any earnest interest. It is with this feeling that the English now only give such scenes from Shakspeare's plays as are in themselves admirable, and by themselves intelligible, because they have not the pedantry of our Ästhetikers, who would bring before the public eye all the no longer intelligible externalities or trivialities in which they can take no interest. One may say, indeed, that the truly excellent is excellent for all times; but we must remember, that a work of art has its temporal and mortal elements, and these, when they become no longer vivifying, must be altered."

This, which is here only applied to historical accuracy, yet contains the æsthetical reasons for every other alteration :

"Göthe, in preparing 'Romeo and Juliet' for the Weimar stage, concentrated it, and cleared away from it all those parts which had become obsolete, which, although precious in themselves, yet, as they belonged to a much earlier period than the present, and to a foreign nation, interfere with the exquisite completeness of the rest."\*

If, then, the managers find that the play lags, or is unintelligible in any parts, he is not only justified in altering them, but the contrary were unjustifiable. Shakspeare's name, Shakspeare's plays, are not affected by any alteration; if the critic cannot endure the mutilation, his resource is obvious—stay away; if the

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\* 'Mittheilungen über Göthe.' Von Biemer, b. ii, p. 655.



public object, they will do the same ; and the manager will see his error, and reform ; his purpose being to amuse, not to put forth opinions.

Connected by parentage to the above error, is another not less common, relative to the old dramatists, who are perpetually invoked as models, and held up in the face of poets as works which must ever annihilate their attempts. We said this error was of the same parentage as the former one—humbug and ignorance—mostly the latter ; for, of all subjects on which an equal quantity has been talked and written, this of the old dramatists is, perhaps, the least understood.

At the outset, holding up these, or any men, as models, unless specifying the limitations, is a gross error. The drama which must “show the very age and body of the time, its form and pressure,” can never be an imitative one :

“Le drame,” says M. Nisard, “n’est l’œuvre littéraire la plus indigène et la plus originale d’un pays que parcequ’il ne peut pas se faire sans le peuple, et parcequ’il faut que le peuple le débâte en plein théâtre. On peut faire sans le peuple une très belle littérature d’imitation *moins le drame.*”\*

True ! if dramatists would really influence their age, they must reflect it, sympathise with it, and express its sympathies ; quaintness of language, oldness of ethics or feelings, can only please in the closet, and there only as an exercise of ingenuity—the heart remains untouched. We were glad to see that very clever theatrical critic in the ‘Times,’ take up this very point with reference to Mr Stephens’ ‘Martinuzzi.’ A striking illustration may be found in the plays written during the late war, of the folly of endeavouring to transplant foreign sentiments into the drama. In those plays were incidents and speeches nightly received with vehement cheers, all relating to the “bleeding in the country’s cause”—to contempt for *Mons. Soupe-maigre*—to the John Bullism of John Bull—in a word, patriotism in all its phases. Whenever these plays are revived they are coldly received, and these “sentiments” meet with no applause, but mostly disgust ; they have not even antiquity to back them—they are foreign and not quaint. We would next remark, that could such a literature be transplanted, the old dramatists are questionable models. The first fact that stares us in the face is, that they are unactable—that no one ever attempted to revive them ; this fact should suggest something ! We do not allude to their coarseness (that might be obviated)—nor to the nature of some of their subjects (the ‘Bridal’ triumphantly proved that passion, if real, and honestly,

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\* ‘Etudes sur les Poètes Latins de la Décadence,’ i, p. 367.

earnestly put forth, will carry any questionable subject); but to the second fact, which, on perusal, strikes every one, viz., their tediousness—their rude want of art. A critic in the ‘Monthly Chronicle,’\* has written on this subject, and we borrow from him a passage or two which expresses our meaning.

“The critic who would be understood, must distinctly demarcate his opinions according to the three modes of judgment, which works of a past era demand; these are—

- “1. Historically; *i. e.* its merit in relation to time, predecessors, necessities of the stage, &c.
- “2. Absolutely; *i. e.* its intrinsic merit, unaffected by any such *nimbus*, and merely viewed in relation to the delight and instruction to be obtained from its perusal.
- “3. As models for others to study by.

“According to this, the merits of the old dramatists are in a descending scale, ‘small by degrees and beautifully less.’ Their historical worth is prodigious, for they were a band of real poets, and mirrored every aspect of their age; their absolute worth is less; and their worth, as models, considerably so, for they were not artists in any sense of the word, and this without much fault on their side, for what could even a Phidias make with the flint-knife of a wild Indian? The dramatic art they certainly did not understand; and, in proof of it, may be taken the very few plays that are revived from that period. Scenes of tremendous passion—touches of the deepest pathos—subtlest eagle-eyed glances into the perplexed heart or complex intellect of man, with the most eternal and refreshing poetry, are all to be found in their volumes; but in *construction*, that harmonious-linked unity of incident and dialogue, that *narrowing intensity* demanded by the drama, as differing from the discursive flowing epic—that æsthetic regulation (whether fore-thought and fore-cast, or the result of a secret feeling of its propriety which guides the unconscious artist)—in a word, that mighty problem, dramatic art, cannot be learnt from their works.”

And again—

“The dramatist must needs study their works, not alone for their beauties, but for their faults, that he may learn the rocks and shallows against which his predecessors have ventured and split. He will find in them, as before stated, the deepest pathos, the most arrowy wit, the broadest farce, and some effective situations. No passion, no vice has been left intact; no character unsketched, if not drawn. But as they now come to us, with all our experience and critical advancement, and the critical demands of an advanced audience, they lie there as some dramatic chaos wherein are all the elements in their

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\* *Vide* a series of papers on ‘Introduction to the Study of the Old English Dramatists,’ which appeared in that journal the latter part of the year 1840.

grandeur and insignificance, from which a world is to be forth-formed. Let him go to them with deepest reverence; let him wander delighted amidst their luxuriant and entangled forest,

‘With pipy hemlock and strange overgrowth,’

and see how nature is reflected in the stream of their poetry, now clear and limpid, now turbulent and muddy; but let him not mistake this broken image quivering in the depths of the stream, and moved by every gust, as the true and complete art-image of the world!”

Alone among these men, as among the world’s men, stands Shakspeare! In his plays (at least some of them) a diligent study will discover the most surprising dramatic act, and, what is more, an evidently conscious forecast plan of every detail. His opening scenes—his progression of story—his selection and juxtaposition of character in ‘Macbeth,’ ‘Othello,’ ‘Merchant of Venice,’ ‘Lear,’ ‘Romeo and Juliet,’ &c., are really matters of as great wonder as anything else in him, except his marvellous penetration into character. A greater proof of his art could not be selected than ‘Hamlet;’ a play which many agree with actors in asserting, would be damned if first brought out in our days. Folly! The answer is, the great attractiveness of the play even to audiences quite incapable of appreciating its wonderful poetry or its profound psychology; no play is so much acted at the Pavilion, Garrick, Tottenham street, Victoria, and Surrey theatres! This is a very remarkable fact; we deduce from it these three conclusions: 1. In spite of what critics say about ‘Hamlet’s’ character being undramatic, owing to its reflective nature, it has these two irresistible claims to sympathy—passion and truth to nature: his melancholy touches a chord in every breast; “it is *we* who are ‘Hamlet,’” as Hazlitt well said. 2. Its dramatic construction (including therein interest of story, &c.) is so fine, that it always keeps attention alive. 3. Its situations—various and striking. Shakspeare, therefore, is not only the greatest poet that ever lived, but the greatest dramatist; and *this* has made him the heir-loom to the stage,\* for without this his poetry, grand as it is, would never have saved him; a proof of which has before been given in those plays of his never acted. It was this, also, that made him the greatest favourite in his own day, in spite of the prejudice which exists to the contrary (originated by Dryden), that Beaumont and Fletcher were preferred. Mr Collier has shown that Shakspeare was so great a favourite with the public, that in April 1726, the interference of the Master of the Revels was purchased by the King’s company, then playing at Blackfriars, at the expense of five pounds, to prevent the players of other theatres from performing Shakspeare’s dramas. “This,” says Mr Collier, “proves the popularity of his plays at that date,

although at Court, two or three years earlier, the productions of Fletcher seem to have been preferred. This preference may be partly accounted for on the score of greater novelty.”\*

We have now gone over the various points which we deem it of the utmost importance that authors should know, and to these may be added the weighty authority of Sheridan Knowles, who assured us that the “theatre was in a very different state to what it was some years ago, and that it was now *impossible* for any play whose merit challenged success—whose merit gave a reasonable hope of bringing money to the theatre—to escape being produced!”—an assertion proved by the very slight merits sometimes shown by plays which are produced; for it is not, as the unacted would have the world suppose, that managers have any horror of “high tragic dramas;” or that there is any *favouritism*, but because they are willing to produce anything which promises; moreover, managers are mostly “with their hands against every man and every man’s hand against them”—they are in a perpetual turmoil, a ceaseless combat; and they have this one potent and pecuniary reason for accepting the play of an unknown author, viz., *they get it on more reasonable terms!* We will now leave this question of authors and managers, and turn to the other popular question: Decline of the Drama.

That the drama is in a declining state there can be no doubt. Can we solve the problem? No, we cannot; our ambition flies not so high, but we see certain evils (seen also by other eyes, but as every mention of them attracts attention we may set them down) which indubitably influence the drama; and we think we see certain means of remedying them.

First in rank stands the monopoly of the patent theatres—a gross injustice; and as the patent theatres avail themselves so little of their privilege to act the “legitimate drama,” one wonders at their opposing its removal. The subject has, however, been so fully and ably argued, that we shall not detain the reader with a recapitulation of the positions maintained by those who demand the abrogation of the patent; we would merely point to the results of such an abrogation. 1. The privilege of acting a higher order of drama by many theatres would encourage authors to write, and by the experience thus gained, would go towards reviving a dramatic literature. 2. It would destroy that curse of the drama, the “*star*” system, by fetching out talent wherever it might be found, and by educating a large class of actors, among which the talented would soon make themselves known. 3. The increased activity, competition, and emulation would be sensibly

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\* ‘Annals of the Stage,’ ii, p. 18.

felt on all sides, and would both lower the arrogance and cupidity of actors, who can now make the most exorbitant demands (and do so), with the consciousness that there are none to compete with them. Mr Tomlins, in his 'Lecture on the English Drama,' has this striking passage relating to our subject :—

“Of the vast number of plays produced in this sixty years, some idea may be gained from its being proved by the Manager Henslow's 'Note-Book,' that 110 new plays were produced by four companies (and those small ones) in six years; and in the following six years, 160, either original, or revived with additions. 'A remarkable and unquestionable proof of the prolific talents of our old dramatists,' as Mr Collier observes, 'and a singular substantiation of the principle that free competition will alone produce excellence and quantity. There were also thirty popular writers in the pay of Henslow alone at one time, not including the more generally known names of Shakspeare, Marlowe, Green, Peele, Massinger, Beaumont, Fletcher, and many others. It must also be taken into account, that not only were authors numerous, but they were equally prolific. Shakspeare left thirty-seven known plays; Ben Jonson, eighteen plays, and thirty-seven masques; Beaumont and Fletcher, fifty-three plays; Chapman wrote and assisted in twenty-two; Chettle, in thirty-eight; Munday, in fifteen (known); Middleton, thirty; Massinger, thirty-seven; Ford, twenty; Rowley, twenty; Thomas Heywood, in no less than the extraordinary number of two hundred and twenty; and Shirley (the last of the race) not less than forty. Besides these there were numerous authors whose works have only partially come down to us; hundreds of plays were never printed, and of those which were, a great part have been irrecoverably lost. Even with the imperfect knowledge we can gain of this period, it may be safely stated that in this sixty years more plays (certainly of five-act plays) were produced than in the one hundred and eighty years since the Restoration. All these dramas were acted, and that they had an opportunity of being so is the sole cause of their production. Had the performance of the intellectual drama, as at present, been confined by law to two theatres, it would have been utterly impossible they should have been produced. Literature might have been earlier turned into the stream of novel-writing, or it might have been destroyed altogether, but it could not have displayed itself in the magnificent mode it has, and England would not have had the benefit nor the honour of possessing a series of classics as original as they are excellent, had there not been a ready mart for their works,—had they not had the stimulus of competition, and the chance of success before them, no writers could have devoted themselves as they did to their works. Had there only been a possibility of two successful plays being produced in a season,—had they been compelled to contend with the vagaries of monopolists, the rivalry of beasts, the interests of popular actors,—had incompetent rank overborne them,—had they had to wait seasons for the acceptance, or

even perusal, of their dramas; and to compose, not only to the peculiarities of actors, but to the debased taste of an audience vitiated by scenery and show, they would not, they could not, have left us what they have: they might have given us a different literature, or they might have merged in the mass in their original trades of wool-combers, bricklayers, stewards, lawyers, parsons, or schoolmasters; but they never would have formed that illustrious congregation of poets, the dramatists of England. . . . To contrast the state before and after this monopoly, I will read the titles of the plays, probably performed in 1635, and those actually performed in 1835, at the patent theatres.

"In 1635, omitting *all* of Shakspeare's, we had 'Tamburlaine,' 'Faustus,' 'The Malcontent,' 'Bussy d'Ambois,' 'A Woman Killed with Kindness,' 'The Revenger's Tragedy,' 'The Duchess of Malfy,' 'Vittoria Corombona,' 'The Lover's Melancholy,' 'The Broken Heart,' 'The Alchemist,' 'Volpone,' 'Philaster,' 'The False One,' 'The Two Noble Kinsmen,' 'A Very Woman,' 'The Virgin Martyr,' 'The Old Law,' 'The Maid's Revenge,' &c., &c. In 1835, *Drury Lane*,—'Gustavus the Third,' 'Lestocq,' 'The Red Mask,' 'Secret Service,' 'My Neighbour's Wife,' 'The Regent,' 'St George and the Dragon,' 'King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table,' 'The Ferry and the Mill,' 'Scan Mag,' &c., 'A Good-Looking Fellow,' 'The Revolt of the Harem. *Covent Garden*,—'Cherry and Fair Star,' 'The Vision of the Sun,' 'The Cataracts of the Ganges,' 'The Somnambulist,' 'Raymond and Agnes,' 'The Bottle Imp,' 'Past and Present, or the Hidden Treasure,' 'Crimes on Crimes, or the Blood-stained Bandit,' 'Timour the Tartar,' 'Robert Macaire,' 'Paul Cifford,' &c."

Whether the abrogation of the patent would do all that its opponents contend for, is not the question, but whether the patent be unjust, and its abrogation beneficial; this we believe has been triumphantly shown. The "elderly gentlemen" deplore over the fallen state of the drama; declare that "it is not what it was when *they* were young—there are no actors now." We would call attention to [the fact, that when there were good actors, there were execrable dramas! Let any one look over the 'London Stage,' 'British Theatres,' &c.—we do not ask him to perform the Herculean labour of reading them—but let him only look at those dramas, and ask himself how many of them, if now written and produced, would be tolerated? Nevertheless, the theatres filled in those days; and why? Because chiefly the theatre was a familiar and constant amusement to all classes, which it no longer is.

This we take to be the secret of the "decline of the drama." It would take us too long to enter into its causes, but we may name some of them, as,—1. *Late Dinners* (which might be obviated by a later commencement, and shorter pieces.) 2. *Bad*

*Actors* (a separate inquiry—partly an accidental cause.) 3. *Tyranny of Actors* (over poet, manager, and brother actor, whereby “good parts” are not to be multiplied, but all kept in due subordination to *their* individual pre-eminence.) And there is a fourth cause, more potent than all, *Cheap Literature*.\* The passion of the age, the characteristic of the age, is for a railroad-rapidity of new and cheap reading; and this has affected all amusements, and absorbed them. A single novel, embracing so many separate springs of interest, will keep a whole family within doors of an evening, will thrill them with horror, keep them in breathless suspense, drown them in tears, tickle them with laughter, arrest them with reflections, and startle them with sketches of, and hits at, the “leading men of the day.” Sneer not, O play-wright! this family, so delighted, would seek the same delight in thy play, and no “elevated instruction.” Multiply that one by the number of novels, and then add thereto the magazines, reviews, travels, biographies, treatises — πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφαί μαι—and as a set-off, the want of good actors and good plays at the theatre, the lateness of the dinner-hour, and the absence of the piquant sauce of “it is *so* fashionable,” which John Bull considers necessary for digestion,—and then estimate the effect of literature on the drama! But not alone on the drama has this shadow fallen; every species of amusement (music excepted) has been influenced. Ranelagh the gay, the brilliant, is no more; Vauxhall, the fairy-land of childhood, the supper and arrack-punch-land of manhood—Vauxhall has been knocked down by the auctioneer’s hammer! Where are the skittle-grounds, once so numerous?—where are the cricket-clubs?—where cock-fights?—where prize-fights? Need we name the many ques-

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\* We might mention another cause,—one which at least has some influence upon ourselves,—the personal annoyances to be endured at the large theatres, for want of proper accommodation for the public, as compared with the comforts of the easy chair, the bright lamp, the cheerful fire, and other cheap luxuries of home. Domestic architecture, and the skill of the upholsterer, have greatly improved during the last hundred years, while the discomforts of theatres have rather increased than otherwise. The boxes are not only too expensive but too far from the stage for the enjoyment of the drama to those who might become habitual playgoers, and to obtain a seat, with a back, in the pit, it is necessary to attend half an hour before the doors are opened, and submit to the rush and crush of a crowd intent upon the same object. For how few plays is it worth while to make this sacrifice, or to submit to the *ennui* often produced by a twenty minutes’ pause between the acts! We shall never be nightly frequenters of the large theatres until we can secure a numbered seat with a back (to prevent our own breaking), and without being charged the disproportionate price usually asked for stalls. For an extra sixpence we have often obtained, in some of the pleasant little theatres of Germany, all the accommodation we required.—ED.

tionable and unquestionable amusements in which our forefathers and foremothers delighted, and which are now passed away in their death-throes? Gone they are, and we will not deplore them; we will only point to the fact of their demise. When people had nothing to do with their time, when the office and the shop were closed, and business shut up in its ledgers for the day, the free spirit of man shook off its cares

“Like dewdrops from a lion’s mane,”

and revelled in enjoyment. It does the same now; it will ever thus reassert its immortal passion for enjoyment,—only that, instead of a visit to Vauxhall, the theatre, or the cricket-ground, it copes itself up in the lecture-room, and curiously considers gases, or some illustrious Nobody’s opinion on gases; or it debates on “education,” or on the “repeal of the corn-laws,” or it delights itself with a Book!

And it is on this immortal passion for enjoyment which the soul ever will assert, that we found our hopes of a regeneration of the drama. A succession of very successful plays would go far to revive the taste for theatrical amusements, since “everybody” goes to see a favourite piece, because “everybody” is supposed to go. Who has not seen ‘The Love Chase,’ or ‘The Lady of Lyons,’ or ‘Money,’ or ‘The Tempest,’ and ‘Midsummer Night’s Dream’ (under their present gorgeous forms of revival)? A successful piece becomes the “talk” of the town. If the “town” could thus be made to “talk” of half-a-dozen plays consecutively, it would recover its lost taste for theatrical amusements.

This might be done, were the theatres smaller, consequently the nightly expenses to be covered by an average audience; but what with the exorbitant salaries of the actors, and the other expenses of a large theatre, it must be very well filled to pay; and the difficulty of filling such a theatre is the excuse for any “clap-trap” to which a manager may descend, as also for his not accepting a play which could only have a slight run. There are several pieces rejected because, though tolerably good, “tolerable” pieces are of no use to a large house; in a small house they might answer as “novelties,” and have a reasonable run; at a large house they are impracticable. If the larger theatres were devoted to opera, ballet, and spectacle, we have no doubt that they might be made to answer; and then if the smaller theatres were licensed to play a higher drama than that of ‘Jack Sheppard,’ or ‘The Mysterious Assassin, and the Blood-stained Worsted Stocking,’ we have no doubt that they might also pay, and a stirring activity and interest be again awakened for theatricals. Madame Vestris showed, when at the Olympic, that her exquisite and artistic



taste, her consummate judgment of the pieces performed (a failure being a rarity), together with a well-selected company, could draw overflowing houses every night, and that (in spite of its situation and the smallness of the house) it depends much on the manager to make a theatre fashionable. We say, therefore, let the patent be abolished, and a new phasis of things must soon result.

We have faith in the drama, and believe that the constant agitation of the question which is going on, must eventually lead to something; but, above all things, we reiterate the necessity of literary men learning carefully and fully the dramatic art: without that nothing can be done, as without authors players are but the merest mummers, and would not stand against Punch and Judy had they to speak their own words. We do not wish to say anything derogatory to their profession, but at the same time, when we daily hear of their increasing arrogance, and when, at the same time, we know their excessive ignorance, we own that we are not tempted to be silent. There are a few clever, and a few scholarly men in the profession, but the amazing ignorance of the rest (though to a keen eye visible in their performance) is, fortunately for them, hidden from the public. We may some day open this matter, and examine the pretensions of these men, who talk about "the words" of a play, and who, because they are so well paid, and are tolerated—nay, petted—by the public, simply because better do not come forward, look upon themselves as the types of genius. "Did you ever see an actor's letter?" asked one of our poets of the writer; and on our confessing the rarity, "No," he replied, "you cannot get a letter from more than three or four of them; *if the rest can write, they are ashamed to show their hands.*"

It is to the authors, then, when unobstructed by theatres, that we look for the regeneration; not to the "syncretics"—not to this author, or to that,—but to *all* dramatists who may be willing to undergo the long and toilsome study indispensable to success of more than a fleeting kind. The drama can never die; it has existed in some imperfect shape or other in every nation, and it ever will exist, because it is based upon humanity. Every being giving way to his natural impulses and sympathies, is intensely delighted with its representation; from the thoughtless child to the reflecting man, "honoured with pangs austere," there is an uninterrupted link of sympathy with the drama. How could it be otherwise? Have we not all loved, hoped, been defeated, wronged, trampled on; or been cherished, fondled, struggled, and been successful? Have we not all "stood too much in the sun," had our day-dreams shattered, our faiths undermined, our friend-

ships sundered? Have we not all, the meanest and squalidest, as well as the highest, *acted* a part in this drama of life, wherein, as Bacon grandly says, "Gods alone are *spectators*?" Have we not all an irresistible desire to *do*—to realize the faintest of our conceptions, and thereby equally impelled to see things *done*? Are we not, as Calderon says, all actors?—

"En el teatro del mundo,  
Todos son representantes;  
Cual hace un Rey sobraño,  
Cual un principe, un grande,  
A quien obedecen todos."

Is not "this world a stage, and all the men and women merely players?" Wherever there is a heart pulsing with human passions,—wherever there is a vanity pushing judgment from its throne, and rendering its poor tool ridiculous,—wherever there is a tear or a laugh, there, in some shape, will be the drama.

G. H. L.

ART. IV. *Home Education.* By the Author of the 'Natural History of Enthusiasm.' London: Jackson and Walford. 1838.

TOYS differ from most other amusing things in that they must be handled. Ornaments reach the sense of beauty through the eye; toys operate only in the hand.

The passion for handling is not duly appreciated. Let us give a fair interpretation to a few plain facts, and we shall be surprised at its strength. While we walk through a public exhibition of the curious specimens of science and art, and are met at every corner with the announcement in large letters, "You are requested not to touch the articles," or are still more peremptorily forbidden by glass doors and wire gauze, we feel ourselves placed under restraint—we are gratified so far, but are still conscious of the beating of a strong propensity that has been tied up. While the lust of the eye is apparently rioting in abundant gratification, *the lust of the hand* often teases and annoys the spirit so much, that the spectacle becomes tiresome. By discipline, the passion may be silenced in mature age, or at least it may become resigned to restraint, but mark its workings when it is allowed full freedom. In a cabinet of curiosities observe that Chinese lady's slipper—the sight is no doubt something, and if accompanied with any information about Chinese workmanship, or about the cramping of the feet of the women, it may

interest us; yet watch at the same time the promptings of a desire still unsatisfied—you take it up, thrust your hand into it, until the points of your fingers bulge out the toe, you bend it for the purpose of trying its flexibility, feel the smoothness of the inner-surface in sympathy with the comfort of the wearer, examine the seams, and go through all the forms by which you would inspect a pair of new shoes. It will be quite obvious that the handling has led you over a much larger range and compass of *thought* than the mere sight. So with a medal or an old coin; how utterly unsatisfying the bare sight of it—how grateful the handling—the turning from side to side between the finger and the thumb, feeling the smoothness of the surface and the sharpness of the edge, weighing it in the hand, and putting it through the whole of half-crown or sovereign exercise. What utter nothingness is there in the mere sight of an ancient sword; the delight comes of unsheathing and sheathing it with our own hands, and going two or three times through the manœuvres of fencing, stabbing, and amputating with it. This is indeed a luxury; the very recollection of it refreshes the spirits. When a companion standing beside us has a curiosity in his hand whose wonders he is relating aloud, the cry is, “let me see it, let me see it,” from those looking on all the time at the full stretch of vision; but the cry means, let me handle it; as the children express it, let me see it in my own hand. Any one with a sufficient faith in this propensity of human nature might make a fortune by an exhibition of rare and curious articles, accompanied with full licence to handle everything. The tear and wear and loss of articles would only be the additional outlay of a shrewd speculator, that would repay itself many-fold.

This passion for handling, strong at every period of life, receives no systematic and purposed gratification except in childhood and youth, for which toys are made; and the ignorance of the true origin and nature of the passion has led to the construction of many toys, that either serve not their end at all, or serve it in very small proportion to their cost. “The real charm of a toy,” says the author at the head of our article, “is derived from the power it possesses to excite the CONCEPTIVE FACULTY; and hence it is, that the more it leaves to be filled up by the imagination, the ruder it is, so much the keener and more lasting is the pleasure it affords.” This is a vague statement of a single phasis of the truth, as we shall soon see. Again, he says, “Let any one familiar with children, analyze a child’s tranquil felicity while amusing itself, for an hour or more, with nothing better than a crooked stick or a handful of pebbles. What can be the bare gratification of the sense of touch, or of the muscular power,

or of the sight, which such objects can convey? it must be reckoned as extremely small; nor is it possible to watch the movements and countenance of an infant of fifteen months, or two years, whilst so engaged, and fall into the great error of supposing that its delights are chiefly animal. It is the MIND, it is the rich, grasping, and excursive human mind (such even in infancy), that is at work on the poor materials of its felicity. This crooked stick, or these pebbles, are symbols of many things we adults do not dream of in such a connexion; and they suggest conceptions of things dimly recollected, and now absent, which people the fancy in crowds, and lead it on, till the soul is lost in the chace."—" — A child of three years old creates for itself, from a stick, a stone, or a straw, a long-continued and tranquil delight; and a boy of ten or twelve, with materials as meagre in proportion to the pleasure drawn from them, though of a rather different sort, such as a score or two of tiles, and a bundle of sticks; or a hammer, a gimlet, and nails, will furnish for himself an intensity of happiness, and to which he will eagerly return day after day, spending hours in an employment which derives ninety-nine parts out of the hundred of its power of fascination from what the mind adds to the tangible material of its pleasures."

" Munificent grand-mammas, and affluent aunts, will, in spite of remonstrance, continue to be good customers at the toyshop; but those who have actually had to do with children are well aware of the fact, that no delight is so brief as that caused by the possession of an elaborate and costly toy; in truth, the pleasure, as to its continuance, seems generally to be in inverse proportion to the sum that has been lavished on the gift. And often, in consideration of the kind donor's feelings, a little artifice has to be used in order to make it appear that the splendid article has not become an object of indifference or disgust, the very next day after its arrival. A crooked stick of its own finding—the handle of a broom—the gardener's cast-off pruning knife, or a tin mug without a bottom, will be hoarded by a child and be mused over, and converted to twenty whimsical purposes, day after day, perhaps for weeks, and certainly until after the toy, which cost what would have fed a poor family as long, has been consigned to the lumber-room."

These remarks stimulate without satisfying our curiosity; they are like dark hints to the effect that there is a region of mind little looked into, where lies much curious and instructive matter. Our current metaphysics are utterly at fault here.

We have said that the handling or toy principle exists in all periods of life—in the man as well as in the child; a lucky thing for us, inasmuch as we cannot see into the mind of the child, except through its analogy to what we find in the man.

These three observations, in justification of what we intend in the present article, will be granted :—first, by understanding the precise operation of the young mind upon toys, we can know what kind of toys suits it best. Secondly, from the analogy between the actings of childhood and those of manhood, we can study and understand the former in the latter. Thirdly, if this principle that we are discussing exists in mature life, it must show itself in a great number of ways, and must in some degree tell upon human happiness.

It is necessary for us first to state the great principles of mind by which toys act, that we may have their light with us in speaking of toys in detail.

Some toys act merely on the intellect, and some combine intellectual action with various emotions. We are thus compelled to give a statement of the manner of working of a pretty large part of the human mind ; but as we have not to deal with the higher operations of thought, or with very complicated feelings, our statement may be simple, and easily understood.

The powers which God has given us wherewith to perform all our *intellectual* operations of remembering, conception, recognition, reasoning, imagining, invention, &c. are two :

1st. *The cohesion of contiguous ideas* ; that is, when two ideas or images are before the mind at the same time, they grow together, or cohere to one another ; so that, at an after period, when one is brought forward, it draws the other into view along with it. Thus, in learning the name of any object, such as a horse, we see it before our eyes, and at the same time hear the word “ horse ” pronounced, and after sufficient repetition the sight and the sound stick to one another so strongly that the one can always bring up the other ; the sound heard at any time brings up the visible image, and the visible image brings up the sound to the organs of voice, and we can re-pronounce it if we please. By this cohesion of things that are in company we can and do construct trains or chains of ideas of any length. Memory depends chiefly on this power. The learning of names, and what is called *rote* or *routine* memory, depends wholly on it.

2nd. *The other of the two powers is very different, but equally simple and beautiful.* It is that by which any idea or image present in the mind’s view draws up the past and forgotten ideas that are *like it*, or the *attraction of similarity*. This principle can be stated in one short sentence, so as to be intelligible to any common mind ; but the development of it, that is, the description of all that it does, or of all the operations that it sustains, could not be given in fifty volumes, and probably will not be com-

pleted for five centuries to come. It is its working on toys we have chiefly to do with now. Let us amplify our statement of it by an example.

Suppose we were to see for the first time a man moving on the street a wheelbarrow full of apples. An image or picture is stamped on our minds, of the man, the moving wheelbarrow, and the apples. In a short time other objects drive this one altogether out of view ; it comes to be as little noticed by the mind as if it had never been. We come up, however, to another wheelbarrow full of apples at rest, with a woman taking charge of it. Instantaneously there flashes out upon us our past image of the man and the moving vehicle ; and both are now side by side in our field of mental vision. That part of the new image that agreed in likeness with the old, namely, the wheelbarrow and the apples, has attracted into our present view what it resembled ; and, in bringing up what agreed with it, it brings up all that cohered with this part, namely, the motion and the man ; so that we have before us two complete images, different in some respects, but drawn together through the attraction of those particulars which were identical. There is both *adhesion* and attraction shown in this simple act. From having seen a man, a wheelbarrow, and apples at one time, the three things all *adhere* together, and in consequence, when one is brought up, the other two appear with it. When we get a new image agreeing in part with this one, the agreeing portions come together, the old rises up upon the new, and the disagreeing appendage of the old comes up likewise, because of its adherence to the agreeing and attracted portion. So that we have two images, different in some respects, but brought together by the attraction of the parts common to both. Instead of having seen apples only twice, each of us has seen them a thousand times ; and all our different visions of them, with their attendant circumstances, come crowding up upon us any time we choose to keep the idea of them before our minds for a little : through the medium of the image of a few apples we can, by the attractive power of similarity, fill our minds at any time with ideas of stalls and markets, fruit shops, trees and gardens, ships, schoolrooms where we sat quartering them with a pocket-knife, dinner tables, theatres where girls sell them to the audience, &c. &c. Scene after scene of past life comes up upon us, some bringing with them their pleasant, some perhaps their painful feelings, which we may experience and enjoy over again if we are in a mood for it.

The bringing up of past thoughts that have clung to present ones by the *adhesive* process, breeds of itself no emotion ; but the other power, of causing a *past* image to flash out of its

oblivion upon a *similar present* one, produces every time a sensible throb of delight. The application of a principle to a new case—the comparison of an object to something it never was likened to before, and which turns out a true likeness—the finding of a common peculiarity in two otherwise unlike things (such as diamond and charcoal)—new similes, new epithets or metaphors,—all are originated by the power of like coming to like, and all cause a sparkle of pleasure. Of this pleasure part of the enjoyment of human life is made up; its amount, of course, rising with intellectual power and intellectual culture.

It is not necessary to pursue farther the statement or illustration of this great attractive principle, because we have no high intentions with it at present, and because our subject presents us with the most beautiful series of plain examples of it that can be met with.

Here, then, is a principle by which we can be copiously flooded with the past at all times, merely by the presentation to our minds of proper objects—things resembling some parts of the experience of the past, and by which the past, coming up and coinciding with the present, distils drops of purest pleasure.

The pleasure thus derivable is of two kinds: First—there is the momentary pleasure, already mentioned, of the flash or the coincidence of the two partially like things; and, second—the pleasures which the past ideas have brought up along with them, to be enjoyed over again.

How much is included in this reproduction or recovery of the PAST! In the mere item of enjoyment, what may it not amount to? That we may have again the choicest moods, the “beauties” of our bygone existence, restored to us by a small instrumentality. That the past thrilling swell of admiration; the genial glow of warm affection; the burst, and the bound, and the dash of heroism; the lofty expansion of the soul to the infinite in power, in wisdom, and love; the perception of beauty and art; the sympathy with sovereign majesty, and all this world’s pomp and circumstance; the strange emotions stirred by antiquity;—that all these and all other feelings of the Past can again and again break forth and possess us, without recurring to the original objects which drew them out, is a mighty fact which must be of vast account in our daily enjoyment. Are we making the most of it? Why, in the life of any living man, should there be a single moment wanting in enjoyment, if positive evil be absent? Does not one’s whole Past furnish some green spots, some bright moments of pleasure, which, by a fit process, might be renewed? And might not thus dreariness and dull vacancy be banished from life, as our Creator intended they should be?

Our poetry, fictions, narratives, what are called polite literature, address themselves to this recovery of the Past. Our interest and affections can be drawn out by a stirring narrative or description only in this manner; there are brought into the present view of the mind circumstances similar to circumstances of our past experience, on which there grew some pleasurable feelings; the power of attraction acting, recovers this past experience, with all its excitement. But by practice, this art of putting us in past moods has been so much improved, that an artist can crowd into our present cup of delight twenty past experiences. Our emotions at human loveliness, wisdom, heroism, virtue in trying positions, at nature's beauty, are sometimes all drawn up in company, each by its proper magnet; and there is no limit to our luxuriating in the Past but the soul's capacity. The ideal can surpass the real by taking the choicest realities of different periods and reviving them all at once.

The pleasures of imagination and taste have been known and drawn upon in all ages, and in these latter times they have been greatly multiplied and diffused by human genius acting through the press; and we should not have been at the trouble to change the point of view from which they have been regarded, or to give an old thing under a new name, did we not believe, not only that the recovery of the Past through the attraction of similarity is the exact source of them, but also, that by getting at the real fountain head, we may detect many streams issuing from it which have not been hitherto turned to the production of human happiness. One of these neglected streams the present article is written to point out; we could soon find others. We believe that the only use of getting at the true principle of any set of phenomena, is to see them better, and discover them all.

The ill-defined faculty of memory is that generally referred to as the restorer of the Past. In as far as memory arises from our first principle of intellect, the adhesion of contiguous ideas, its force of restoration is very slight. We may bring up the outlines or dry bones of an occurrence by running back *memoriter* to the time at which it happened, but not often the fulness, and force, and relief with which it stirred the mind; it is the presentation of something like it which re-induces these. We may recollect our visit to some grand scene by retracing our history till we reach the month when it happened, and with which, therefore, it is adhesively connected, but the feelings are not thus evoked again. Let, however, a nearly similar scene be presented to the mind, either by a reality, by a painting, or a good verbal description, and then the old one flashes out before us, complete in its filling up, and its beauty acting on us its former effect. The



strange and striking revival, in all their first freshness, of scenes of life long gone by, takes place through the agency of some image flitting across the mind, very similar to one of those past, and proving the magnet which draws it again upon the stage. Adhesion, or vulgar memory, has lost all power over these scenes.

Dr Chalmers, in his late work on Parochial Economy, tells an anecdote of a gentleman, who, on a boisterous day of wind and rain, paid a glazier to repair all the broken windows of the poor hovels in the Canongate of Edinburgh. This act of benevolence will probably recur to us again with great force when we hear the rain pelting our windows; and with still more certainty will it recur when the similitude is made completer by our seeing it pelting the broken and clouted windows of crazy dwellings. Few people can recollect their stories or experiences except by the force of their similarity to something put in their present view. Hence the common preface to an anecdote—"That's like a thing that occurred to me, or that I have heard of"—"Your speaking of a narrow escape from drowning, puts me in mind of a fright that I got in the same way."

We are now to expound Toys as one set of the magnets of the pleasure-yielding Past; and to show that the use of them may be much extended, and human life be the happier for it.

It is an allowed fact, that the Creator has been pleased to annex high pleasurable emotions to the infant's first perceptions of the material world. Image after image, as each new one falls upon the mind, causes perpetual effusions of delight. The viewing of things for the first time must therefore be regarded as the earliest enjoyment of intellect.

Next in order succeeds that class of intellectual enjoyments springing from repetition and identification and the restoration of the Past. When an object, whose first appearance transported the infant mind, occurs again, it causes by its attraction the restoration of the first image in company with something of the first pleasure, and there is also enjoyed the sparkle excited by the identification. First images, too, being necessarily indistinct, their coinciding and being swallowed up in succeeding clearer copies must, in infancy as well as in mature life, be a process full of gratification. It is only after the twentieth time that the sight of the household cat gives out all its pleasure. Every succeeding view, by bringing up the images and the excitement of past appearances, is attended with the sum total of the emotion of all preceding; until that point is reached when further accumulation ceases, and the palling effect of the repetition of a merely intellectual image begins to wear down the intensity of the feeling.

By the help of the above principles of mind, we may

conjecture the process going on in the childish brain when it falls to toying — with a stick and a few smooth pebbles, for example. In the first place, the manoeuvres which the child goes through, of striking the pebbles with the stick, may give it imagery altogether new; and thus evoke the pleasure proper to novelty. Or, in the next place, these motions may, by the force of similarity, restore images of operations previously witnessed, such as beating down the fire with the poker, the striking of a table or chair with a spoon or stick, or any similar operations performed by nurses or elder children for its amusement. The rapid raising and lowering of the stick may recal the pleasing imagery impressed by the dancing up and down in the arms which children are copiously treated to. The noise of the strokes is pleasant; and the effect of a lucky blow in dispersing the pebbles may recal a whole host of past pleasurable experiences to an infant mind. There is a primary delight in its own exertions which this brings strongly out; there is the delight in every image of activity, life, and motion, and the shifting of scenery; the stones, as lying close together, would be the magnet of one kind of past images, their scattering would quickly form another, and lead to new coincidences of past and present. In mature age an object appears as one clearly defined thing, which brings up only such images as exactly resemble it; but in the child images are vague and assume various forms, each of which is suggestive or attractive of its own likeness in the Past; hence there is more intellectual life and enjoyment, in proportion to the materials, in early life. With us, reason constrains the mind into certain limited channels, and though our faculties are stronger, and our Past more copious than the child's, yet the child probably riots among coincidences, and the already experienced pleasures of the Past, more profusely than we do.

Give a child a shut box, and it will probably examine it all round, and in a very short time toss it away. The sight gratified for a little, but a change of image was desired, and this was the most obvious method of procuring a change. By this act the child brings up the consciousness of exertion; and the sight of a moving thing reproduces former images of motion and activity. Show it that the box opens, and it resumes the study of it—shuts it itself, opens it again, thus reverting from image to image, and delighting in the transformation as the work of its own hands. It will now be long ere it resort to the extreme step of throwing it away, and seeking it back to throw it away again. From this and all other observations on childhood, we can see that a toy, which has nothing moveable or changeable about it, is a very imperfect thing; it has little source of

thought in it. With a finely-finished ornamental toy—an effigy of a man, a dog, or bird, a child will not lose much time ere it treat it as it would a stick, or a spoon, or an old canister, viz., beat the table with it to produce melody and the ideas of life, and motion, and self-exertion—toss it away—or apply it to its mouth to restore part of the pleasure of sucking the breast.

It is a very common error to confound toys with ornaments in amusing children. We hear a nurse, on holding up a pretty bauble to an infant, exclaiming, “See such a pretty thing,” as if the child’s capacity of enjoyment as yet contained nothing but a love of dazzle. It is common, too, to present to the eye what is not given into the hand, a very thankless indulgence. The sense of beauty and of nice imitation are of late growth. What childhood needs is, copiousness of images, resembling, and fit for restoring, those broad, palpable ideas which it has been able to gain,—to keep the faculty of identification and recovery of the Past working all the day long. It is thus preparing itself for the highest operations of intellect in mature life. By indulging it in noises and rapid motions of all kinds, we are, besides breeding happiness, cultivating ideas of activity, bustle, and life, which are the foundation of the habits of the smart, active workman or man of business, the animated, rapid, vehement orator, or the stake-all enthusiast.

That the power of intellect, by which one thing attracts another like it, improves by exercise, *besides* enriching the mind with a vast number of combined and mutually illuminated images, we can have no doubt. It is not easy to prove from facts that it does so. But every other force of the human system that we know of improves by exercise. The other faculty of intellect, adhesion of contiguous ideas, we know can be much strengthened; from seeing that routine, memory can be easily increased. But the attractive faculty is the nobler of the two, and its strength marks the greatness and originality of a mind. Whereas, too, the exercise of adhesive memory is nothing but dull exhausting labour, the attraction of the past to the present is continually effusing delight. This faculty may be kept in action from morn to night; instead of fatiguing, it produces a cheerful flow of spirits, the truest preservative of health and soundness of mind.

Let the infant be indulged in toys to the very utmost. Provide for it those that are transformable and moveable especially—anything jointed, a blunt scissors, a folding knife, or the like, a box into which you may inclose some trinket to rattle with, and give occupation in opening and shutting—anything in the form of a syringe or telescope, that can be drawn out and in—chains and strings suspending things. Besides transformable and move-

able things we can have sets of two or three separate articles, a little rod with rings on it, or any modification of combinables. Then, the apparatus of noise—things to strike the table, chair, or floor, or to tinkle on one another. Also, balls and projectiles of all sorts. Most salutary and invigorating both to mind and body is the exercise of throwing. Lastly, lead the infant at the earliest opportunity into imitation. Call its attention to certain little processes and manipulations with its toys, till it have acquired an ideal of them which it seeks to realize for itself. This is one of the finest sources of pleasure, and a noble product of the attractive faculty. To enter the child upon this is to commence both its education and the training of its faculties to undergo education.

Hitherto we have spoken of childhood from the first moment of *toyhood* to two years or so. We shall now take a stride to the boy or girl between six and ten, in whom we find new modifications of the same principles.

In expounding this era, we shall, as in the former instance, first produce a few examples of the things delighted in, noting what are the essential principles of the pleasure. Some of the things which amused the child continue to amuse the boy, but the improvement of his faculties and the enlargement of his Past make him lay chief stress on a higher order of apparatus.

In boyhood the delight in contrivance, in all kinds of artificer's work, in the changes made on things by manual operations, is most intense. When the boy of six or seven goes into a carpenter's shop, and sees a workman bring in from his wood-yard a deal board, and learns that he is to make a table with it, how engrossing is the interest with which he regards every step of the process—how impatient at those operations of nice, accurate squaring or hypercritical planing, which, not appearing essential, look like needless delays—how anxious to be present at every great decisive step, such as the fastening of two or three breadths of the plank together, or the screwing in of the legs! So, when the foundation of a house is chalked out, what delight is felt on the arrival of the first cart-load of stones or lime that is laid down; it is looked on as a most satisfactory indication that the work is seriously begun. Then the rearing of the walls goes on for some time, and the process of laying stone upon stone by repetition loses a little of its interest, and the anxiety is on the stretch for the appearance of windows; the workmen are persevering so long with dead wall, that there is an apprehension that these may be forgotten. The walls rise, and now to be absent from the grand step of beginning to erect the roof is a decided calamity; to avert which the young observer, day after day,

stays till the last stroke of the school-hour, and a minute or two longer; but, oh! how lazy the men are, they don't seem to be beginning yet, and away the little thing must run, agitated by disappointment from behind and terror from before.

For the recovery to the mind of gratifications of a passion so intense, it is plain that many schemes will be tried—the breaking of complicated toys to see their inner working, and reconstruct them—the weighing in scales—the building of houses, either within doors, by books and cards and pieces of wood, or out of doors, with stones, mud, clods, boards, and whatever else may be got—the making of one's own whips, kites, &c.—the construction of ships to sail in pools; and, oh! the delight of seeing one of these moving from side to side by the wind, like a true ship acted on by an invisible and ethereal and not a rude, material agent, braving nobly the rippling of the pool, and while inclined to one side by the force of the breeze, sailing all the more majestically for it. Here there is a noble coincidence of one's own handiwork and property with the great stirring ideal of a true ship riding on the broad sea.

The realization of striking ideals is the strongest ambition of boyhood. Many of its sports are of an imitative character, such as the acting of soldiers, robbers, and police officers, to which the mind is powerfully excited after reading tales of war, marauding, or heroism. Students' guides, introductory lectures, recommendations of useful knowledge, biographies, act upon youth strongly by the ideals which they present of great learning, great genius, and industry surmounting impossibilities.

Toys properly adapted to this principle must be apparatus for imitating what boyhood is stirred with, and is able to imitate. A box full of pieces of wood of all sizes and thin pliable wire might contain materials of endless construction. Boys' folding-knives, chisels, gimlets, nails, a hammer, and small hand-saw, with a twelve-inch rule, and a rude square and plummet, may be allowed when the age of using them is reached, especially if, from proximity to workshops, the mind has been stimulated by the sight of carpenters' work. It is proper to divert the attention from impracticable attempts, such as constructing a steam-engine, a water-mill, or a full-rigged ship. In out-door work the imitation of the gardener, builder, and trencher, may be permitted. The digging of pits deep enough to conceal one's body altogether, and make a kind of abyss that would demand no small courage and strength to gain the earth's surface from, recovers to the youthful mind many a strange feeling, and has a kind of deep tragic interest.

Games of all sorts are the delight of boys; and in solitude

many a pleasant moment is spent in handling and counting the marbles, or other articles staked. The dreariness of school-hours is much relieved by handling even in the pockets these precious mementos; they bring up to the mind the vivid pictures of past games; and when rigid parents argue for the leaving of all these things at home, they proceed upon the fallacy of supposing that they serve their ends only on the arena of the playground, and the reluctance with which the pockets are emptied shows that the mere argument has not told.

It is impossible to calculate the amount of strength given to the young faculties through the magnetism of toys; it is probably more than that derived from any other quarter for the first seven years of life. The youth ought always to be seeing and handling something, and all varieties of things. To restore to him as much of his past imagery as possible, is to give pure intellectual and emotional delight, and exercise in him that great faculty which sustains the highest exertions of mind.

Girlish passions are more limited in scope than those of the boy. The young girl is not inspired by the same ideals as her brother, but it is essential to her present happiness and future mental vigour that she should have ideals, and realise them too. Whether the clothing and nursing of dolls is not made too much of we shall not say, but we have our doubts. We are certain, however, that the future character is largely determined by the early operations of intellect; and therefore we believe that any important change in the education of the female mind must begin in the regulation of the early visions and ideals, and the toys by which these and all past imagery are repeated in the mind's view.

It is a monstrous miscalculation in education when we refer the great process of mental improvement to the hour or two a day in which a constrained attention to book learning is kept up, and call the other eight or ten hours of the strong excitement of feeling and flow of intellect—play, sport, trifling, mere passing of time. A truer estimate would be, that the latter is to the former in effect upon the future being as a hundred to one. While the instructor in primers is making the young scholar attach sounds to letters, syllables, and words, by the operation of the adhesive faculty, where does he suppose is the other great faculty by which reasoning, imagination, and invention are to be sustained, getting fitting exercise? All that he gives it would not endow a boy of ten with the sagacity of a terrier. On the play-ground, in the streets and fields, gazing at shop windows, and getting stolen views at mechanics at their work, amid the trinkets and lumber and household operations of home, whether

rich or poor, by all the forms of trifling that the school-discipline allows—swinging the legs to and fro, running the toes along the seams of the floor, picking at the nail heads of the forms, scratching the desks with pins, studying the airs of the master, curling the leaves of the lesson book (the destruction of which perhaps shows more mind than its preservation), and in a boundless variety of circumstances, both natural and eccentric, is this great faculty, the glory of our nature, making its unobserved way amid frowns and rebukes and blows, and all kinds of obstructions, taken under care of Providence like the foundling and the outcast, until at last it is acknowledged as the greatest mark of honourable distinction belonging to humanity. The education of the youthful mind understood in this enlightened age!—it is only beginning to be studied. If the day ever come when the parent will see in the conversion of a forbidden, and formerly unnoticed and indifferent article, into a toy, as desirable an operation as the teacher sees in the comprehension of a truth, we shall then say that the science of education has progressed.

Keeping no longer by particular periods of life, we shall now indulge in a more excursive illustration of the actings of the assimilating faculty of our nature upon trifling objects.

Everybody knows what dreariness or vacuity of mind is, and in what circumstances we are overtaken by it—such as, when none of the stirring pursuits of life are in our view, or when we are not in a mood to entertain them. In such a state a great relief is found in anything that brings on the easy sparkle of the intellect—a variety of objects, each recalling from our Past some fellow of it, some principle shining in it, or an epithet appropriate to it. This succession of coincidences, the life of the intellect, dissolves the dreariness and thickness of the spirit. If the things of the Past bring up with them some accompaniment incongruous with the present, the result is, the feeling of the ludicrous, or laughter, that peculiar relaxation and dissolution of mind in which the spirits run on in full stream, and the cup of delight becomes filled to overflow.

Let us attend to a few of the contrivances we find made use of, by which in such situations objects are supplied to the mind as magnets of the Past. A watch, with chain, seals, and keys, is one resort of a vacant mind. It has a great range of affinities in the Past. In the first place, the grasping of the round, smooth, bulbous body of the watch in the hand, brings up the past experiences of clenching door handles, of securing articles closely locked up by the muscular power of the hand, of having firm, advantageous holds of things against attempts at seizure, and many other ideas varying with individual experience. Then

the holding of the chain and seals in suspension is strong in draughts upon the Past. Suspensions like this are connected with many feelings both of beauty and utility—such as the suspension of lamps, of bell-pulls, of goods drawn up to a loft, &c. Add to the suspension a gentle swing, and a new cluster of dim imagery brings up its attendant emotions. The easy sweep of the pendulum and pendulous objects is now present, with the feelings that may have grown upon it. This is better brought out if the watch be made the ball, and the seals the place of suspension. Next, holding the watch in the hand, we can twirl the chain round the finger, causing to appear images of whirling a sling, of spirals, screws, or of winding and roping, of a windlass, and a draw-well, with the idea of revolution round a centre. Then, the arrangements of seals and keys round the ring are numerous. If the chain be a multiple one, whose plies are kept together by a massive ring, the versatility and power of attraction is immensely increased. We do not mean to say that these configurations and evolutions actually bring up decided recognisable images of the particular objects that they simulate; but they certainly bring up general notions or ideas of them, which general notions, even, have a certain force of feeling around them; and this feeling, added to the temporary pleasure of the coincidences, forms a sensible contribution to the happiness of a vacant and desolate mind, though not a full satisfactory complement of enjoyment. Comparing the new fashion of watch-guards and thin flat watches with the old one of chain and seals, and bulbous watches, we admit to the former the pleasant idea of slipping into the waistcoat pocket without swelling out upon the breast, and also the suggestion of official pomp by the folds and crossing of the gold or silver watch-guard, but these we hold to be no equivalent to the power of alleviating solitude and dulness, which the old form has through its versatility and attractiveness.

Clerks, students, and writers of all sorts are apt to toy with pens, pencils, pencil-cases, and penknives. Each and all of these stand connected with a great range of their Past. The cutting away of a pen or a pencil for no purpose brings up the agreeable feelings that the prospective utility of these operations gave rise to—it restores a part of a scene of active and engrossing employment. In like manner, the drawing out and in of a pencil in a pencil-case is restorative of a fragment of the past, which in the destitution of other exercises occupies the mind again. When one takes out his pencil-case from his pocket, and runs out the pencil, whether he intend to use it or not, the act carries back his mind to those moments when he had a distinct end in view, which kept him alive and active, and the life and activity and



occupancy of mind come on him again faintly, though the specific end be wanting. These things, therefore, are so many messengers to summon up *past* states of activity and interest, when no *present*, engrossing thing is to be had.

The operation of cutting is frequently had recourse to, as an amusement, at all periods of life. It is often associated with engrossing emotions, particularly those felt in planning an operation, and proceeding to execute it. When once a person has resolved upon any project, his mind is completely occupied by it, and after having once entered upon the work, he has room for nothing else in his thoughts till it be finished.\* Thus, in taking aim to strike anything, the mind rests completely satisfied with one train of thought till the blow is given. There is no vacuity of mind in executing an interesting project, and hence the surest way of filling up vacant moments is to set upon new schemes, or revive the memory of old ones. Now from earliest boyhood cutting is associated with the execution of schemes, and there is scarce any period of life in which one may not engross one's mind by setting one's self to cut anything—wood, paper, cork, fruit, &c. Taking dinner would be the most unbearable, fatiguing operation of life, if there were in it no food for the mind. The artizan-like operations of spooning, cutting in proper directions and to proper sizes, and bringing together the right proportions of the different eatables, keep the intellectual powers and active principles alive. How torturing would it be to have nothing to do in taking our food but blindly receive each morsel into our mouths. The want of the play of mind would make us ravenous and impatient, as we see partly in children before they can help themselves; having nothing to stir our feelings but the gratification of taste and hunger, we should “bolt” without taking time to chew. By the mixing of intellectual operations and of the feelings which the schemes and pursuits of life give rise to with the pleasures of the palate, we eat deliberately, and enjoy our repast like rational beings. To the actings of one's own mind upon the necessary operations is usually added conversation, which heightens the intellectual and emotional element of the scene, and makes the gratification of the animal propensity still slower.

The cutting of desks, and tables, and church pews with pen-knives shows the propensity for planning and executing new schemes, lording it over propriety. There is no cure for this but a diversion of mind into a more harmless train of operations.

A pair of spectacles is a toy of great power. Being jointed,

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\* The exceptions to this too broadly stated principle do not affect the use here made of it.

it can be changed very much in its appearance. The two arms may have their ends brought together, so as to make a triangle, to which you may give various positions suggesting different structures. With one arm in your hand as an axle you may make the whole to revolve in wheel motion. You may balance it on your finger at different points—at the bridge between the eyes, at the angle of the arm, at a point near the middle of an arm; this operation of delicate balancing brings up from the Past, feelings of suspense and of nice accuracy of halving, which may entertain the mind a good while. You may wipe the eyes, feel their curvature, try their focus, &c. A pair of cast-off spectacles would make a toy for a child overflowing with intellectual life.

In walking abroad, a cane or a staff is an article whose power over the mind is immense. The very handling of it, the play it gives to the fingers, is suggestive and exhilarating. As we strike it on the ground, it brings up the imagery of pillars, props, and supports, with some of the emotion and interest which may have gathered around these in our minds. It adds to the effect of the minute imagery of the pathway or adjoining wall—the seams, hollows, protuberances, and inequalities of the stones or gravel, by enabling us to strike or punch the more conspicuous of them. The wielding of it brings up upon us the animating scenes of sword and cudgel play, of attack and defence, creates a robber or an insulting villain whom we knock down; we are re-inspired with the heroism which the tales, or sights, or experiences of war and violence and patriotism had formerly brought on. By striking little stones with it on the road we recal past sports and past occupations, and fill the mind with little schemes. But the mental magnetism of the walking stick is best seen in rural walks, where grass, thistles, nettles, and brambles grow; in knocking off the heads of the thistles, and beating down rank grass, a whole host of past things may flash up—burning images of cutting down enemies, of beating dogs, horses, or refractory human beings; the idea of planning a piece of destruction requiring some skill, and executing it well; the philosophic ideas of tenacity, brittleness, &c.

With a stout stick in a road well grown over with weeds, no one's mind need come to a stand. But when the rage for neatness and beauty has swept away every blade of vegetation from a rural walk, and lined both sides with stone walls, heaven keep pensive minds out there. In a fit of vacancy a mile of such a walk in solitude will bring a man sensibly nearer his grave. The bareness of a town street has been produced, without the buildings and the bustle that keep mind alive in the town. But in town

or country a walking stick will never leave the mind altogether empty and still. It is truly a noble instrument. It cheers the deserted mind of a beggar. Accursed be the features of that face that would sneer or frown at any living man for carrying a walking-stick. And if there be an inhabitant of these realms who is deterred by any expressions of opinion from carrying a staff in walking abroad, such an one is a slave in the worst sense; the operations of his mind are fettered, the run of his thoughts has been arrested. May the day of universal emancipation from such bondage come speedily.

It is common for people compelled to sit at a writing table and hear long-winded relations and harangues, which neither create interest nor exercise the intellect, to occupy themselves in fanciful drawings with pen and ink upon the paper before them. A current of thought from the Past thus sets in, affording a partial relief to the heaviness of the present scene.

When a person takes off his hat to speak to another, and holds it in his hand, he finds it a good toy, by manœuvring on which he can fill up the intervals of thought in the other's replies. He holds it by the brim, waves it up and down as if he were fanning himself, studies the different things to be seen inside—the mark of perspiration round the leather, the colour and texture of the lining, the maker's name (which is learned only on such occasions); he then turns it up into the wearing posture, and notes if the pile be well brushed down, smoothes it with his hand first round the side, and then on the crown by describing a spiral which exercises some ingenuity; being once set on, he finishes the job by dressing the brim in conclusion, and then holds it up before him to take a comprehensive view of it as thus improved; and in this way a stream of ideas is rushing past him, his affections are engrossed with the welfare of his hat. It is great cruelty to set one into a room to wait, and take away his hat from him, giving nothing in its place on which he may live the past over again while the present is delayed.

It is utterly impossible to lounge, even for a short time, in an artisan's shop, without setting ourselves to work on his tools. The materials on which to plan and execute are before us, and if it were only to cut into shreds a wood-shaving, or hammer a wire, we set head and hands agoing. In striking the workman's bench in a series of gentle blows that leave no mark, we are realising an image of what we have either done ourselves or seen others do for some really useful and interesting end; and the interest now attends the mockery or phantom of the process.

These examples show mature age resorting to the very operations in which childhood and youth are said to squander the

largest part of their time. What the young pursue systematically, the old use occasionally; and the occasional toying of the old is, in a measure, as essential to their endurance of existence as the making it a chief business is to the young. Let us attempt to point out a few of the occasions when the mind requires to be set in operation by trifles, so called because they have no recognized place in the serious business of life.

There are affections and feelings that the mind can derive happiness from for long periods. There are pleasures that sparkle for a moment and vanish. The coincidence of the past and present, one great elementary operation of intellect, gives rise to a delight of the latter kind, unless the Past bring along with it an atmosphere of permanent emotion. We must keep distinct the pleasure of the flash and the old pleasure that may happen to accompany the Past in its re-appearance on the stage; the former is always over in a few seconds, the latter may be of any duration. When we at any time depend on the first for our enjoyment, we must have a close succession of coincidences; when we have gained an enduring emotion, intellect may lie on its oars. Most of the pursuits of life are accompanied with enduring emotions. The necessities and luxuries of life, sensual delights, wealth, rank, honour, power, fame, mental and moral greatness, the good of our fellows, heaven at last, are all objects of pursuit, which, while yet afar off, we can spend our time pleasantly in contemplating. But every one must have observed that there are only certain moods of mind in which we can find delight in ruminating on our chief good, or future possessions. These moods are such as, when our spirits are high and disposed to entertain all great schemes (intoxication causes this)—when we have had a successful turn, or have gained a decided step in any pursuit—when we feel ourselves particularly strong, and able to grapple with difficulties—when riding on the top of a prosperous wave—when a new scheme has just been planned—when our own views and hopes are re-echoed by others. In these moments a brilliant future illuminates the present; intellect is used to pass backward and forward before us its gorgeous scenes, to recount to us all the great things of our lot; it is a mere handmaid to assist our vision, its own proper delights are the small dust in the balance. These moods do not last; they cover but a small part of life. Much has to be otherwise filled up; and for one share of this filling up we resort to the Past. But before coming to the toy-brought Past, the book-brought Past is sought, and fills a considerable space. There still remains, however, in every one's life, crevices or little blanks, which, if left destitute, would acidulate the happiest lot. Let us now

enumerate a few. Hours or half hours of solitude, when indisposed to serious thinking or reading, and when no luminary either of hope or enjoyment is in view—when in a company where conversation is not very rich or sparkling, or the themes very engrossing—when waiting anywhere, in ante-room, drawing-room, business-office, workshop, &c.—when waiting for the replies of one whose ideas are slow—minutes of relaxation from labour, study, or business—intervals of deliberation either with ourselves alone or with others, when, seeing no quarter whence a decision may come, and yet unwilling to pronounce the affair impracticable, we drag on doing nothing—travelling by vehicles or on foot on dreary roads—listening to dull speeches, lectures, pleadings, sermons, &c., and waiting in public assemblies till these or other performances begin—hearing bores who cannot tell what they have got to say, or say it seven times over—giving instructions and observing whether they are comprehended—in situations where our labour and attention are intermitted, &c. &c. It will be seen, that in the best occupied minds there are blank moments wearisome to live through, that it is desirable that something should be done for these, and that if any apparatus for occupying them could be devised, it ought to make a part of household and pocket furniture. After providing for larger spaces, for days and hours, it remains to dispose agreeably of fragmentary groups of minutes.

For this purpose, we can do nothing better than generalize the occupations that are actually resorted to on these occasions when within reach. Toying and trifling, which *we* call exercising the highest function of the intellect in restoring the Past, let us erect into a system. Let us study the capabilities of different articles, and choose the best as models for a general manufacture. Let us have our small portables for the pocket, and our larger and more varied sets or stands of apparatus for the dwelling-house, the study, the waiting-room, the office, &c.

In speaking of the toys of childhood we recommended jointed and transformable things. These enable one to imitate a great number of objects or processes, or to realise many past states of mental occupation and interest. Thus, with a pair of draughting compasses, we can employ ourselves in stretching and bringing close the legs. The former recalls to us the effort to stride over something, an effort often (as in trying the length of our own stride) accompanied with high interest. Having put the legs asunder some way, we can imitate walking with them, or rather slow, clumsy stumping, which will probably bring up and illustrate the idea of the nursery-book giants who take seven-league strides. We may also put them to their proper use of drawing circles,

which we can combine and complicate without end. We may imitate the pincers or nut-crackers by enclosing our finger between the legs, and squeezing either by the gaining or losing lever. The pincers itself is a good toy, as it bears a part in many operations. Along with these we may class the tongs, which is still more fertile in the idea of colossal striding, and also, from the large stretch of its extremities, is strongly attractive of ideas of grasping, enclosing, holding. A carpenter's rule, with its four divisions jointed to one another, has great versatility; when constructed on the scale of a foot it makes a good pocket toy, adding the occupation of measuring to the susceptibility of being formed into many shapes. A botanical glass with three eyes may, by the turning of one, two, or all of them, out of the case, in various combinations, afford considerable diversion. We alluded to spectacles formerly; they are of this class. Not merely draughting compasses, but all the articles of a case of mathematical instruments, pens, parallel rules, scales, &c., could be turned to account. A pocket knife, especially if double or treble bladed, may, by the angular motion and angular positions of the blades, create many coincidences of the above-mentioned kinds; and there is a new force of suggestion in the springs, which, acting over a certain range, defy us to keep the blades stationary within that range. Our natural disposition to overcome difficulties sets us to narrow this range if we can, by gently bringing the blade farther and farther out, eluding as if by stealth the spring's action.

We have thus one important class of toys—the jointed ones. If any one were to set to work upon them he could invent many new varieties, and improve upon the versatility and suggestiveness of these.

There is a little class of rigid toys that are of importance from the various ways in which they may be handled, and also from their exercise of the muscles of the fingers and arms,—a little rod like a pencil, a metallic ring or curved rod large enough to let in the hand, a ruler, a rod with a bulb at the end of it, &c. On the rods we can plait our fingers, and distort our hands; in the ring we can insert two fingers of each hand, and pull as if drawing it asunder. With a ruler or a poker we can operate in various ways; we can attempt to bend it over the knee or over the back of the neck, processes not only restorative of mental interest, but admirable for exercising those muscles which in mere walkers are neglected—the muscles of the superior extremities. There are many mistakes abroad on exercise. Walking brings only a small number of the muscles into action; the accompaniment of a walking-stick, so valuable as one of the keys

to the mental stores, makes the exertion more extended and equable. But, in addition, there is still imperiously demanded such operations as stretching the trunk, bending back upon our chair till it revolve on two legs, resting our whole weight through our hands upon chair-backs or stair-railings, lying on our backs and sides, and kicking about, yawning, and innumerable inelegant distortions, besides the above-mentioned operations upon the fingers and arms.

Next to single toys complete in themselves we have the infinity of combinations, or mutual actions of two or more articles.

One great division of this class includes knives, pricklers, and edge tools of all sorts, with material on which to operate—pieces of wood, leather, cork, cloth, cords, chalk, &c. A pointed steel wire with a handle and a case would make a good pocket toy, along with bits of wood, or anything to probe and scratch upon; by it we could imitate writing, drawing, boring, cutting, &c. A knife whose blade has a sharp point serves some of the same purposes, and could also personate ripping and dissecting. A graver and a piece of boxwood would provoke an attempt at engraving; a process full of the interest of other cutting operations, added to that of attempting a higher than any of them.

Besides cutting toys, we can have little hammers, and fragile things, or articles with pieces in them requiring blows to fix or dislodge. Using a hammer implies aiming, uncertainty, and risk, and therefore combines a trial of skill with something of the engrossment of games of hazard. The same holds with balls used for striking distant things, as in knocking down pins.

Strings, chains, and articles suspended by them, to imitate pendulums, revolving bodies, collisions and blows—to bind and loose—to make devices of cordage and rigging, &c., might go over a wide range of thought.

Things to jingle on one another, making a sort of music, are not to be neglected. We find some relief and diversion of mind by beating one, two, three, the third beat emphatic, with a pencil on the table or across one of the fingers. Or one can beat time to some air that he is going over inaudibly in his mind.

Little chemical experiments of burning matches, papers, threads, wax, resin, &c., are very engrossing. With a light placed about the level of one's breast, a blowpipe, some wires, glass rods, and a few combustibles, one might get over a very dreary hour.

Of all these and such like articles only a few would make portable or pocket toys; the others are household articles. What we suggest, therefore, is to get up a collection of them into a stand or case to lie in waiting-rooms of all kinds, and in every

room where people are obliged to spend much of their waking time. A few small drawers at the base would contain little trinkets, balls, and the soft materials for edge tools; and the larger articles could be stuck into notches or holes in a platform surrounding a central pillar.

Compare this with some of the more costly methods of entertaining the mind, such as loading a drawing-room table (and in scarcely any other room will it be assumed that you have a mind) with elegantly bound books full of plates, or by curious specimens of natural history or antiquity, or by mere ornaments. As to looking at and admiring plates, it is dreadfully fatiguing; half an hour of it makes one's head dizzy.

Looking at fine shells, or minerals, or insects, when we have no knowledge of them, that is, when we cannot identify all their appearances with formerly learned principles, is nothing better than refined torture. New and complicated images are poured into the mind, which, having no ideas wherewith to harmonise them, and enable it to view them separately and successively, runs completely distracted, as if it were hearing six people speaking at once, or reading an unintelligible science. We are well aware that it is common to express gratification at seeing a splendid museum, though its objects be quite unintelligible; but the reasons for this are, that there is a slight gratification in casting our eyes on a new assemblage of striking objects,—that it is something to say we have seen what few see,—and that we should think it sacrilegious, and the sign of a barbarously ignorant mind, to confess that the sight had distracted and pained instead of interesting and refreshing us. There is a current hypocrisy here which no one has courage to shake off. But we assert, and defy it to be contradicted, that the gazing on unintelligible, dazzling objects, with a very little exception, is *in fact* most wearisome and hurtful, and that the nature of the human mind makes it so. With respect to ornaments and elegance, they help to diffuse an agreeable feeling over the mind; but if, as a subject of mental occupation, we are either summoned by others, or volunteer out of courtesy to study them, we find that they possess no material for it. After remarking the two or three points in which their fitness and beauty are conspicuous, we cannot raise another thought out of them; and if we persist, it is only keeping the mind on the rack.

But the pressing of improper objects upon the view is not the worst hardship in the present constitution of things; in many situations of waiting and suspense at the mercy of others, nothing is given to stir the intellect. We would fain hope that, at no distant time, it will be considered as barbarian cruelty to set a



person down in a naked lobby, beside a bare marble table, without one thing that he can take in his hand, or fix his eyes upon with ease, for ten seconds' continuance. To afford a straw, a wood-shaving, a bit of string, or a cinder, would be humanity ; it would give some vent to a mind straitened and preying upon itself. We know not the precise usages of jails, but we may remark, that the effect of the punishment of solitary confinement depends upon the trifling articles that the criminal may be allowed to handle. Give a desperate fellow anything that would personate a weapon, and recal his past scenes of fighting and frenzy, and he would come out more hardened than he went in.

Before concluding our article let us recal in brief outline the chief topics that we have successively submitted to the reader :—the indications of the desire of handling or toying—the two great principles that sustain all the operations of the human intellect—the effect of toys in setting in action the principle of the reproduction of the Past by the attraction of similarity—the influence of toys upon the child, and the sort of toys that act best—their influence on boyhood and effect upon intellectual culture—the principle seen in operation in all periods of life—occasions when toys are required—the systematic classification of toys.

The actual introduction of the toying system in the way we suggest, would, at the outset, have a very comic effect. At present the handling propensity is gratified only by stealth, and, though observed working, can scarcely be made a subject of mutual remark in company, consistently with good breeding. But if each person were to take over to the fire with him from off the table his probe and piece of leather, as he does his toddy tumbler, his occupation would be common conversational property, and the occasion and magnet of innumerable witticisms. But a new and rich comic and conversational element introduced into life would be no small addition to social happiness. If the suggestiveness of toys was not only felt by individuals, but made occasionally the subject of mutual discussion, each telling what portion of his own Past they brought up, their intellectual action would be many times multiplied.

Stagnation of mind not only is present misery, but impairs the intellect ; and, on the other hand, the full flow of mind is both pleasant and invigorating to the faculties ; so that it is not even desirable that by the exercise of patience we should be habituated to endure the stagnation. It is not a matter of present comfort merely in which we may learn to deny ourselves, but touches our future welfare, the pitch of mental and moral greatness we may reach. Vacancies and moments of waiting and suspense look trifling individually, but their sum total would be found a fraction

of human life too large to lie unreclaimed from wearisomeness and attrition of intellect.\*

In seeing after the comfort of our fellow creatures as well as our own, we must learn to take into account, that occupation of mind, whether engrossment by feeling or succession of thought, is as essential to them as warmth, wholesome food, or pure air. It is true we can attend to this only so far; but observe an instance of how far:—In monotonous employments which use the hands and not the head, there should be a separate provision for the head. One obvious provision is, knowledge of all sorts, and the associations and hopes connected with its acquisition—the book or lecture waiting at night, the meeting with intelligent and enthusiastic companions, the opportunity of communicating to those *whom* we delight in what we have acquired, &c. When we think upon the needs of all classes of humanity, and the small provision made for them, we are forced to assert that in one sense the mind of man, the greatest thing in the world, is among the least attended to.

Another remark, and our last. Having now had occasion to labour in a region of the human mind neglected by our written mental philosophy, we may remark of that science, that it will require to proceed a little farther into the minute anatomy of human life than it has ever yet done. At present this minute anatomising is left to novelists, who, even when their descriptions are truest to nature, render but lame accounts of causes or great principles; and though they give *knowledge*, it is not often in that sense in which it is *power*: it does not always teach us to control the acts and feelings which they describe. But description itself can never be perfect, unless observation be conducted under the light of great principles. No novelist, not even Dickens, has done full justice to the toy principle; and no one ever will until he conceive it aright as a principle. But let any one first learn the principle, and then proceed to study life in search of manifestations of its workings, and we fear not to say, that he will find ten times as many as have ever yet been recorded, besides obtaining a more exact account of each. N.

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\* \* \* A good rational toy shop is still a desideratum in London, though something of the kind has been projected by the Christian Knowledge Society, at the suggestion of the Rev. Dr Short. One of the most useful toys for children is the Geographical Model, and another, the box of Architectural Solids, sold by G. Kershaw, 17 Wilderness row, Clerkenwell. \* The latter is a great improvement upon the boxes of common wooden bricks usually sold, it including a great variety of other forms required by children in their amateur building operations. Parents, also, would do well to obtain the Geometrical and Drawing Solids; and Mechanical Models, sold by Taylor and Walton, Upper Gower street.—Ed.

ART. V.—*Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians.* By George Catlin. In 2 vols. large 8vo. Published by the Author, at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly.

**T**HIS is a remarkable book, written by an extraordinary man. We speak not of the work as a literary production, regarded as which its claims to merit would be very slight, but as a work valuable in the highest degree for its novel and curious information about one of the most neglected and least understood branches of the human family. Mr Catlin, without any pretension to talent in authorship, has yet produced a book which will live as a record when the efforts of men of much higher genius have been forgotten. It is somewhat remarkable, too, that we owe these volumes to Mr Catlin's neglect of literary studies. Had he, in the early part of his life, been less devoted to the pencil than the pen,—had he been more fond of his books than of rambling and sketching, he would certainly not have been led to form the singular and unexampled resolution of burying himself in the "far west" for a period of eight years, leaving his wife and friends, and breaking through all other ties, to give himself up to one object, that of becoming portrait painter to American Indians, and a faithful delineator of the manners, customs, and characters of races now rapidly passing away.

Great reason have we to be thankful that there is no conceivable pursuit for which there are not some men born with an especial taste and aptitude, and yet we are almost tempted to murmur against Providence that there was no Catlin in Cæsar's camp when he first invaded the English shores. How intense would have been the interest now attaching to a work in two volumes, with four hundred illustrations (the number this work contains), carefully engraved from original paintings, describing the ancient Britons, with the very features of their chiefs, the aspect of the country as it then appeared, the customs of the various tribes, and their habits, as connected, not merely with war, but with the every day occupations of their lives, with their hunting and cooking, their clothing and habitations, their marriages and festivals, and their religious or superstitious ceremonies. All this Mr Catlin has done for the copper-coloured tribes of America, destined apparently to speedy extinction; and in future ages his work, to the Anglo Saxon race then peopling the whole of that vast continent, will have the same interest which a similar work would now possess with us descended from the time of the aborigines of the British Isles.

Every one in London has seen Mr Catlin's unique gallery and his attractive exhibition of living models at the Egyptian Hall—we cannot too strongly recommend them to our country friends. We miss in these volumes the effect given by colouring in the original paintings; but when the exhibition is closed, these illustrations will be an acceptable substitute.

The letter press of the work contains the substance of the lectures Mr Catlin has delivered at various Institutions, with much additional matter that he thought it more convenient to arrange in the form of letters.

We could find fault with his want of order and method, yet, on the whole, we would rather have the work as it is, with all its interesting though sometimes prolix and confused details, than take it from the hands of a practised book-maker.

The first chapter, or Letter No. 1, gives the following general account of the Indians in their present and past state:—

“The Indians of North America, as I have before said, are copper-coloured, with long black hair, black eyes, tall, straight, and elastic forms—are less than two millions in number—were originally the undisputed owners of the soil, and got their title to their lands from the Great Spirit who created them on it,—were once a happy and flourishing people, enjoying all the comforts and luxuries of life which they knew of, and consequently cared for;—were sixteen millions in number, and sent that number of daily prayers to the Almighty, and thanks for his goodness and protection. Their country was entered by white men, but a few hundred years since; and thirty millions of these are now scuffling for the goods and luxuries of life, over the bones and ashes of twelve millions of red men; six millions of whom have fallen victims to the small-pox, and the remainder to the sword, the bayonet, and whiskey; all of which means of their death and destruction have been introduced and visited upon them by acquisitive white men; and by white men, also, whose forefathers were welcomed and embraced in the land where the poor Indian met and fed them with ‘ears of green corn and pemican.’ Of the two millions remaining alive at this time, about 1,400,000 are already the miserable living victims and dupes of white man's cupidity; degraded, discouraged, and lost in the bewildering maze that is produced by the use of whiskey and its concomitant vices; and the remaining number are yet unroused and unenticed from their wild haunts or their primitive modes, by the dread or love of white man and his allurements.”

Mr Catlin is no statist, and has forgotten to tell us when and how the census was taken which made the North American Indians originally sixteen millions, or which gives a population of thirty millions of white men to the Canadas and the United States. In both cases the exaggeration is obvious,

But there is yet no doubt of the fact that the Indians two centuries back were more numerous than at present, though no country was ever densely populated by tribes living in a continued state of warfare, and depending for subsistence entirely upon the chase.

Mr Catlin's first excursion was to the establishment of the Fur Company at the mouth of the Yellow Stone river.

Here he met with many Indians of various tribes, assembled for the purposes of trade with the company; among them the Mandans, to one of whose villages he afterwards paid a visit. The astonishment excited by the first introduction of portrait painting among the Mandans is well described:—

“Perhaps nothing ever more completely astonished these people than the operations of my *brush*. The art of portrait-painting was a subject entirely new to them, and, of course, unthought of; and my appearance here has commenced a new era in the arcana of *medicine* or mystery. Soon after arriving here, I commenced and finished the portraits of the two principal chiefs. This was done without having awakened the curiosity of the villagers, as they had heard nothing of what was going on, and even the chiefs themselves seemed to be ignorant of my designs, until the pictures were completed. No one else was admitted into my lodge during the operation; and when finished, it was exceedingly amusing to see them mutually recognizing each other's likeness, and assuring each other of the striking resemblance which they bore to the originals. Both of these pressed their hand over their mouths awhile in dead silence (a custom amongst most tribes when anything surprises them very much); looking attentively upon the portraits and myself, and upon the palette and colours with which these unaccountable effects had been produced.”

“After I had finished the portraits of the two chiefs, and they had returned to their wigwams, and deliberately seated themselves by their respective firesides, and silently smoked a pipe or two (according to an universal custom), they gradually began to tell what had taken place; and at length crowds of gaping listeners, with mouths wide open, thronged their lodges; and a throng of women and children were about my house, and through every crack and crevice I could see their glistening eyes, which were piercing my hut in a hundred places, from a natural and restless propensity, a curiosity to see what was going on within. An hour or more passed in this way, and the soft and silken throng continually increased, until some hundreds of them were clung and piled about my wigwam, like a swarm of bees hanging on the front and sides of their hive.

“During this time, not a man made his appearance about the premises; after awhile, however, they could be seen, folded in their robes, gradually *sidling* up towards the lodge, with a silly look upon their faces, which confessed at once that curiosity was leading them reluctantly

where their pride checked and forbade them to go. The rush soon after became general, and the chiefs and medicine-men took possession of my room, placing *soldiers* (braves with spears in their hands) at the door, admitting no one, but such as were allowed by the chiefs, to come in.

"Mons. Kipp (the agent of the Fur Company, who has lived here eight years, and to whom, for his politeness and hospitality, I am much indebted) at this time took a seat with the chiefs, and, speaking their language fluently, he explained to them my views and the objects for which I was painting these portraits; and also expounded to them the manner in which they were made, at which they seemed all to be very much pleased. The necessity at this time of exposing the portraits to the view of the crowds who were assembled around the house, became imperative, and they were held up together over the door, so that the whole village had a chance to see and recognize their chiefs. The effect upon so mixed a multitude, who as yet had heard no way of accounting for them, was novel and really laughable. The likenesses were instantly recognized, and many of the gaping multitude commenced yelping; some were stamping off in the jarring dance—others were singing, and others again were crying—hundreds covered their mouths with their hands and were mute; others, indignant, drove their spears frightfully into the ground, and some threw a reddened arrow at the sun, and went home to their wigwams.

"The pictures seen,—the next curiosity was to see the man who made them, and I was called forth. Readers! if you have any imagination, save me the trouble of painting this scene. \* \* \*

\* \* \* I stepped forth, and was instantly hemmed in by the throng. Women were gaping and gazing—and warriors and braves were offering me their hands,—whilst little boys and girls, by dozens, were struggling through the crowd to touch me with the ends of their fingers; and whilst I was engaged, from the waist upwards, in fending off the throng and shaking hands, my legs were assailed (not unlike the nibbling of little fish, when I have been standing in deep water) by children, who were creeping between the legs of the bystanders for the curiosity or honour of touching me with the end of their finger. The eager curiosity and expression of astonishment with which they gazed upon me, plainly showed that they looked upon me as some strange and unaccountable being. They pronounced me the greatest *medicine-man* in the world; for they said I had made *living beings*,—they said they could see their chiefs alive, in two places—those that I had made were a *little* alive—they could see their eyes move—could see them smile and laugh, and that if they could laugh they could certainly speak, if they should try, and they must therefore have *some life* in them.

"The squaws generally agreed, that they had discovered life enough in them to render my *medicine* too great for the Mandans; saying that such an operation could not be performed without

faking away from the original something of his existence, which I put in the picture, and they could see it move, could see it stir."

Mr Catlin, throughout his work, has made a mistaken application of the word "Medicine," using it as a generic word equivalent to "Mystery," instead of a specific name for one of the departments of Mystery, which the art of physic may indeed well be called both in America and Europe. Among the American Indians the village doctor is always the priest, and no cure is ever performed without the same kind of conjuration which accompanies their religious rites. The administrator of medicine is therefore a "mystery monger;" but it is wrong to call the priest, or mystery monger, "a medicine-man," because the use of medicine is only one of the mysteries in which he deals. When the two chiefs pronounced the words, "te-ho-pe-nee-Wash-ee," Mr Catlin was not addressed with the title of "great medicine white man," as he supposed, but with the title of "great white conjuror," though we could almost say that Mr Catlin was "no conjuror" not to make this obvious distinction.

He commits the same error when describing the charm or talisman carried by the Indians as a protection in war, and from danger of every kind; but instead of using either of those appropriate terms, he calls the charm, or talisman, "a medicine bag," reminding us of a box of pills, though the bag contains no pills, nor anything intended to be used as medicine. It is very noteworthy how closely this superstition of the talisman corresponds with the Arabic customs of the East:—

"These bags are constructed of the skins of animals, of birds, or of reptiles, and ornamented and preserved in a thousand different ways, as suits the taste or freak of the person who constructs them. These skins are generally attached to some part of the clothing of the Indian, or carried in his hand—they are oftentimes decorated in such a manner as to be exceedingly ornamental to his person, and always are stuffed with grass, or moss, or something of the kind; and generally without drugs or medicines within them, as they are religiously closed and sealed, and seldom, if ever, to be opened. I find that every Indian in his primitive state carries his medicine-bag in some form or other, to which he pays the greatest homage, and to which he looks for safety and protection through life—and in fact, it might almost be called a species of idolatry; for it would seem, in some instances, as if he actually worshipped it. Feasts are often made, and dogs and horses sacrificed, to a man's medicine; and days, and even weeks, of fasting and penance of various kinds are often suffered, to appease his medicine, which he imagines he has in some way offended.

"This curious custom has principally been done away with along the frontier, where white men laugh at the Indian for the obser-

vance of so ridiculous and useless a form : but in this country it is in full force, and every male in the tribe carries this, his supernatural charm or guardian, to which he looks for the preservation of his life in battle or in other danger ; at which times it would be considered ominous of bad luck and an ill fate to be without it.

“ The manner in which this curious and important article is instituted is this : a boy, at the age of fourteen or fifteen years, is said to be making or “ forming his medicine,” when he wanders away from his father’s lodge, and absents himself for the space of two or three, and sometimes even four or five, days ; lying on the ground in some remote or secluded spot, crying to the Great Spirit, and fasting the whole time. During this period of peril and abstinence, when he falls asleep, the first animal, bird, or reptile, of which he dreams (or pretends to have dreamed, perhaps), he considers the Great Spirit has designated for his mysterious protector through life. He then returns home to his father’s lodge, and relates his success ; and after allaying his thirst, and satiating his appetite, he sallies forth with weapons or traps, until he can procure the animal or bird, the skin of which he preserves entire, and ornaments it according to his own fancy, and carries it with him through life, for ‘ good luck ’ (as he calls it) ; as his strength in battle—and in death his guardian *Spirit*, that is buried with him ; and which is to conduct him safe to the beautiful hunting grounds, which he contemplates in the world to come.

“ The value of the medicine-bag to the Indian is beyond all price ; for to sell it, or give it away, would subject him to such signal disgrace in his tribe, that he could never rise above it ; and again, his superstition would stand in the way of any such disposition of it, for he considers it the gift of the Great Spirit. An Indian carries his *medicine-bag* into battle, and trusts to it for his protection ; and if he loses it thus, when fighting ever so bravely for his country, he suffers a disgrace scarcely less than that which occurs in case he sells or gives it away ; his enemy carries it off and displays it to his own people as a trophy ; whilst the loser is cut short of the respect that is due to other young men of his tribe, and for ever subjected to the degrading epithet of “ a man without medicine,” or “ he who has lost his medicine,” until he can replace it again, which can only be done by rushing into battle and plundering one from an enemy whom he slays with his own hand. This done, his medicine is restored, and he is reinstated again in the estimation of his tribe ; and even higher than before, for such is called the best of medicine, or ‘ *medicine honourable*.’

“ It is a singular fact, that a man can institute his mystery or medicine, but once in his life ; and equally singular that he can reinstate himself by the adoption of the medicine of his enemy ; both of which regulations are strong and violent inducements for him to fight bravely in battle : the first, that he may protect and preserve his medicine ; and the second, in case he has been so unlucky as to lose it, that he may restore it, and his reputation



also, while he is desperately contending for the protection of his community.

“During my travels thus far, I have been unable to buy a medicine-bag of an Indian, although I have offered them extravagant prices for them; and even on the frontier, where they have been induced to abandon the practice, though a white man may induce an Indian to relinquish his medicine, yet he cannot *buy* it of him—the Indian in such case will bury it, to please a white man, and save it from his sacrilegious touch; and he will linger around the spot, and at regular times visit it, and pay it his devotions, as long as he lives.”

It has often been observed by writers on education, that there is no such person as an individual perfectly uneducated. The mind cannot remain untaught; we are always learning something, profitable, useless, or mischievous, from the cradle to the grave;—but education is of various kinds, and the question is simply, which is better for the people—that of schools, or the education of the beer-shop and street? With the Mandans education means training in the art of war; and our readers may be interested with an account of the methods pursued by tutors employed

“To teach the young idea how to *scalp*.”

“During the pleasant mornings of the summer, the little boys between the age of seven and fifteen are called out, to the number of several hundred, and being divided into two companies, each of which is headed by some experienced warrior, who leads them on in the character of a teacher; they are led out into the prairie at sunrise, where this curious discipline is regularly taught them. Their bodies are naked, and each one has a little bow in his left hand, and a number of arrows made of large spears of grass, which are harmless in their effects. Each one has also a little belt or girdle around his waist, in which he carries a knife made of a piece of wood and equally harmless; on the tops of their heads are slightly attached small tufts of grass, which answer as scalps, and in this plight they follow the dictates of their experienced leaders, who lead them through the judicious evolutions of Indian warfare—of feints—of retreats—of attacks—and at last to a general fight. Many manœuvres are gone through, and eventually they are brought up face to face, within fifteen or twenty feet of each other, with their leaders at their head stimulating them on. Their bows are bent upon each other and their missiles flying, whilst they are dodging and fending them off.

“If any one is struck with an arrow on any vital part of his body, he is obliged to fall, and his adversary rushes up to him, places his foot upon him, and snatching from his belt his wooden knife, grasps hold of his victim's scalp-lock of grass, and making a feint at it with his wooden knife, twitches it off and puts it into his belt, and enters again into the ranks and front of battle.

“This mode of training generally lasts an hour or more in the

morning, and is performed on an empty stomach, affording them a rigid and wholesome exercise, whilst they are instructed in the important science of war. Some five or six miles of ground are run over during these evolutions, giving suppleness to their limbs and strength to their muscles, which last and benefit them through life.

"After this exciting exhibition is ended, they all return to their village, where the chiefs and braves pay profound attention to their vaunting, and applaud them for their artifice and valour.

"Those who have taken scalps then step forward, brandishing them and making their boast as they enter into the *scalp-dance* (in which they are also instructed by their leaders or teachers), jumping and yelling—brandishing their scalps, and reciting their *sanguinary deeds*, to the great astonishment of their tender aged sweethearts, who are gazing with wonder upon them."

Among the notices connected with the subject of natural history, we have a lengthened account, illustrated by graphic sketches, of the buffalo and antelope of the prairies; but less familiar to the public are the gregarious habits of the prairie dog.

"The dog of the American Prairies is undoubtedly a variety of the marmot; and probably not unlike those which inhabit the vast Steppes of Asia. It bears no resemblance to any variety of dogs, except in the sound of its voice, when excited by the approach of danger, which is something like that of a very small dog, and still much more resembling the barking of a grey squirrel.

"The size of these curious little animals is not far from that of a very large rat, and they are not unlike them in their appearance. As I have said, their burrows are uniformly built in a lonely desert; and away, both from the proximity of timber and water. Each individual, or each family, dig their hole in the prairie, to the depth of eight or ten feet, throwing up the dirt from the excavation, in a little pile, in the form of a cone, which forms the only elevation for them to ascend, where they sit, to bark and chatter when an enemy is approaching their village. These villages are sometimes of several miles in extent; containing (I would almost say) myriads of their excavations and little dirt hillocks, and to the ears of their visitors, the din of their barkings is too confused and too peculiar to be described.

"In the present instance, we made many fruitless endeavours to shoot them; but found our efforts to be entirely in vain. As we were approaching them at a distance, every one seemed to be perched up on his hind feet, on his appropriate domicile, with a significant jerk of his tail at every bark, positively disputing our right of approach. I made several attempts to get near enough to "draw a head" upon one of them; and just before I was ready to fire (and as if they knew the limits of their safety), they sprang down into their holes, and instantly turning their bodies, shewed their ears and the

ends of their noses, as they were peeping out at me; which position they would hold, until the shortness of the distance subjected their scalps to danger again, from the aim of a rifle; when they instantly disappeared from our sight, and all was silence thereafter, about their premises, as I passed them over; until I had so far advanced by them, that their ears were again discovered, and at length themselves, at full length, perched on the tops of their little hillocks and threatening as before; thus gradually sinking and rising like a wave before and behind me.

"The holes leading down to their burrows are four or five inches in diameter, and run down nearly perpendicular; where they undoubtedly communicate into something like a subterraneous city (as I have formerly learned from fruitless endeavours to dig them out), undermined and vaulted; by which means they can travel for a great distance under ground, without danger from pursuit.

"Their food is simply the grass in the immediate vicinity of their burrows, which is cut close to the ground by their flat shovel teeth; and, as they sometimes live twenty miles from any water, it is to be supposed that they get moisture enough from the dew on the grass, on which they feed chiefly at night; or that (as is generally supposed) they sink wells from their underground habitations, by which they descend low enough to get their supply. In the winter, they are for several months invisible; existing, undoubtedly, in a torpid state, as they certainly lay by no food for that season—nor can they procure any. These curious little animals belong to almost every latitude in the vast plains of prairie in North America; and their villages, which I have sometimes encountered in my travels, have compelled my party to ride several miles out of our way to get by them; for their burrows are generally within a few feet of each other, and dangerous to the feet and the limbs of our horses."

One of the best anecdotes in a work, which is almost inexhaustible in materials for quotation, is one relating to the author's horse "Charley," a noble animal of the Camanchee wild breed.

"On this journey, while he and I were twenty-five days alone, we had much time, and the best of circumstances, under which to learn what we had as yet overlooked in each other's characters, as well as to draw great pleasure and real benefit from what we already had learned of each other in our former travels.

"I generally halted on the bank of some little stream, at half-an-hour of sunset, where feed was good for Charley, and where I could get wood to kindle my fire, and water for my coffee. The first thing was to undress 'Charley,' and drive down his picket, to which he was fastened, to graze over a circle that he could inscribe at the end of his lasso. In this wise he busily fed himself until nightfall; and after my coffee was made and drank, I uniformly moved him up, with his picket by my head, so that I could lay my hand upon his lasso in an instant, in case of any alarm that was liable to drive him

from me. On one of these evenings when he was grazing as usual, he slipped the laso over his head, and deliberately took his supper at his pleasure, wherever he chose to prefer it, as he was strolling around. When night approached, I took the laso in hand and endeavoured to catch him, but I soon saw that he was determined to enjoy a little freedom; and he continually evaded me until dark, when I abandoned the pursuit, making up my mind that I should inevitably lose him, and be obliged to perform the rest of my journey on foot. He had led me a chase of half a mile or more, when I left him busily grazing, and returned to my little solitary bivouac, and laid myself on my bear-skin and went to sleep.

"In the middle of the night I waked, whilst I was lying on my back, and on half opening my eyes, I was instantly shocked to the soul, by the huge figure (as I thought) of an Indian standing over me, and in the very instant of taking my scalp! The chill of horror that paralyzed me for the first moment, held me still till I saw there was no need of my moving—that my faithful horse 'Charley' had 'played shy' till he had 'filled his belly,' and had then moved up, from feelings of pure affection, or from instinctive fear, or possibly from a due share of both, and taken his position with his fore-feet at the edge of my bed, with his head hanging directly over me, while he was standing fast asleep!

"My nerves, which had been most violently shocked, were soon quieted, and I fell asleep, and so continued until sunrise in the morning, when I waked, and beheld my faithful servant at some considerable distance, busily at work picking up his breakfast amongst the cane-brake, along the bank of the creek. I went as busily to work, preparing my own, which was eaten; and after it I had another half-hour of fruitless endeavours to catch Charley, whilst he seemed mindful of success on the evening before, and continually tantalized me by turning around and around, and keeping out of my reach. I recollected the conclusive evidence of his attachment and dependence, which he had voluntarily given in the night, and I thought I would try them in another way; so I packed up my things, and slung the saddle on my back, trailing my gun in my hand, and started on my route. After I had advanced a quarter of a mile, I looked back, and saw him standing with his head and tail very high, looking alternately at me and at the spot where I had been encamped, and left a little fire burning. In this condition he stood and surveyed the prairies around for a while, as I continued on. He at length walked with a hurried step to the spot, and seeing everything gone, began to neigh very violently, and at last started off at fullest speed, and overtook me, passing within a few paces of me, and wheeling about at a few rods distance in front of me, trembling like an aspen-leaf.

"I called him by his familiar name, and walked up to him with the bridle in my hand, which I put over his head, as he held it down for me, and the saddle on his back, as he actually stooped to receive it. I was soon arranged, and on his back, when he

started off upon his course as if he was well contented and pleased, like his rider, with the manœuvre which had brought us together again, and afforded us mutual relief from our awkward positions. Though this alarming freak of 'Charley's' passed off and terminated so satisfactorily, yet I thought such rather dangerous ones to play, and I took good care after that night to keep him under my strict authority; resolving to avoid further tricks and experiments till we got to the land of cultivated fields and steady habits."

We must not pass over the description which follows :—

"On the night of this memorable day, Charley and I stopped in one of the most lovely little valleys I ever saw, and even far more beautiful than could have been *imagined* by mortal man. An enchanting little lawn of five or six acres, on the banks of a cool and rippling stream, that was alive with fish; and every now and then a fine brood of young ducks, just old enough for delicious food, and too unsophisticated to avoid an easy and simple death. This little lawn was surrounded by bunches and copses of the most luxuriant and picturesque foliage, consisting of lofty bois d'arcs and elms, spreading out their huge branches, as if offering protection to the rounded groups of cherry and plum-trees that supported festoons of grape-vines, with their purple clusters that hung in the most tempting manner over the green carpet that was everywhere decked out with wild flowers of all tints and of various sizes, from the modest wild sun-flowers, with their thousand tall and drooping heads, to the lillies that stood, and the violets that crept beneath them. By the side of this cool stream Charley was fastened, and near him my bear-skin was spread in the grass, and by it my little fire, to which I soon brought a fine string of perch from the brook; from which, and a broiled duck, and a delicious cup of coffee, I made my dinner and supper, which were usually united in one meal, at half-an-hour's sun. After this I strolled about this sweet little paradise, which I found was chosen, not only by myself, but by the wild deer, which were repeatedly rising from their quiet lairs, and bounding out, and over the graceful swells of the prairies which hemmed in and framed this little picture of sweetest tints and most masterly touches.

"The Indians, also, I found had loved it once, and left it; for here and there were their solitary and deserted graves, which told, though briefly, of former chaunts and sports; and perhaps, of wars and deaths, that have once rung and echoed through this little silent vale."

Mr Catlin's sympathy with the Indian races, and his advocacy of their cause against the injustice with which they have often been treated by the whites, command our respect. He satisfactorily disproves, in their defence, the charge of wanton cruelty, and shows that the objections of the savage to the usages and ideas of modern civilization are not very easily met:—

\* \* "Amongst these tribes that torture their prisoners, these

cruelties are practised but, upon the few whose lives are required to atone for those who have been similarly dealt with by their enemies, and the remainder are adopted into the tribe, by marrying the widows whose husbands have fallen in battle, in which capacity they are received and respected like others of the tribe, and enjoy equal rights and immunities. And before we condemn them too far, we should yet pause and inquire whether in the enlightened world we are not guilty of equal cruelties—whether in the ravages and carnage of war, and treatment of prisoners, we practise any virtue superior to this? and whether the annals of history which are familiar to all, do not furnish abundant proof of equal cruelty to prisoners of war, as well as in many instances to the members of our own respective communities. It is a remarkable fact, and one well recorded in history, as it deserves to be, to the honour of the savage, that no instance has been known of violence to their captive females, a virtue yet to be learned in civilized warfare.

“If their punishments are certain and cruel, they have the merit of being few, and those confined chiefly to their enemies. It is natural to be cruel to enemies; and in this I do not see that the improvements of the enlightened and Christian world have yet elevated them so very much above the savage. To their friends, there are no people on earth that are more kind; and cruelties and punishments (except for capital offences) are amongst themselves entirely dispensed with. No man in their communities is subject to any restraints upon his liberty, or to any corporal or degrading punishment; each one valuing his limbs, and his liberty to use them, as his inviolable right, which no power in the tribe can deprive him of; whilst each one holds the chief as amenable to him as the most humble individual in the tribe.

“On an occasion when I had interrogated a Sioux chief, on the Upper Missouri, about their Government, their punishments and torture of prisoners, for which I had freely condemned them for the cruelty of the practice, he took occasion, when I had got through, to ask me some questions relative to modes in the *civilized world*, which, with his comments upon them, were nearly as follow, — and struck me, as I think they must every one, with great force:—

“‘Among white people, nobody ever take your wife—take your children—take your mother, cut off nose—cut eyes out—burn to death?’ No! ‘Then you no cut off nose—you no cut out eyes—you no burn to death—very good.’

“He also told me he had often heard that white people hung their criminals by the neck and choked them to death like dogs, and those their own people; to which I answered ‘Yes.’ He then told me he had learned that they shut each other up in prisons, where they keep them a great part of their lives, *because they can't pay money!* I replied in the affirmative to this, which occasioned great surprise and excessive laughter, even amongst the women. He told me that he had been to our Fort, at Council Bluffs, where we had a great many warriors and braves, and he saw three of them taken out on the

prairies, and tied to a post and whipped almost to death; and he had been told that they submit to all this to get a little money.—‘Yes.’ He said he had been told, that when all the white people were born, their white *medicine-men* had to stand by and look on—that in the Indian country the women would not allow that—they would be ashamed: that he had been along the Frontier, and a good deal amongst the white people, and he had seen them whip their little children—a thing very cruel: he had heard, also, from several white *medicine-men*, that the Great Spirit of the white people was the child of a white woman, and that he was at last put to death by the white people! This seemed to be a thing that he had not been able to comprehend, and he concluded by saying, ‘The Indians’ Great Spirit got no mother; the Indians no kill him, he never die.’ He put me a chapter of other questions, as to the trespasses of the white people on their lands; their continual corruption of the morals of their women; and digging open the Indians’ graves, to get their bones, &c. To all of which I was compelled to reply in the affirmative, and quite glad to close my note-book, and quietly to escape from the throng that had collected around me, and saying (though to myself and silently), that these and a hundred other vices belong to the civilized world, and are practised upon (but certainly in no instance reciprocated by) the ‘cruel and relentless savage.’”

Here we take our leave of a work over which we have lingered with much pleasure, strongly recommending it, notwithstanding its literary defects, to the reader, and hoping its extensive sale will amply repay Mr Catlin for the great outlay he must have incurred.

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ART. VI.—1. *Preussen und Preussenthum* von J. VENEDEV Mannheim, 1839.

2. *Preussen und Frankreich Staats Wirtschäftlich und Politisch* von DAVID HANSEMAN. 2te. Auflage. Leipzig, 1834.

3. *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Preussisches Staaten Herausgegeben von Kammergerichtsrath Mannkopf.* Berlin, 1837-8. 6 Bände.

4. *Der Deutsche Bundestag, eine Politische Skizze* von GUSTAF KOMBST. Strasburg, 1836.

5. *Authentische Ahtenstücke aus den Archiven des Deutschen Bundes* von GUSTAF KOMBST. 2te Auflage. Leipzig, 1838.

6. *Geschichte des Preussischen Staats* von G. A. H. STENZEL. Hamburg, 1830-37. Bände, 1-2.

THERE is a fashion abroad at present of praising Prussia by wholesale, as in all things it is also orthodox to suspect Russia; and these fashions are, no doubt, not mere whims snapped

out of the air, but multiplied echoes of a real sound. There is something strange, however, in them both, particularly in that which affects Prussia. There was a time in the political annals of this country when Neptune and Freedom, in rival strophe and anti-strophe, delighted to chaunt our praises; when—

“ All the globe round  
No spot could be found  
So happy as this little island.”

But now, it seems, there is neither happiness nor freedom to be found within the three angles of our triangle; and we are solemnly assured that “to find a practical example of the blessings that are commonly supposed to be the necessary results of liberty, we are obliged to turn from the country rife with it to a country where it is nominally extinct”—this country being Prussia.

It is only lately, however, that the Tories have discovered the excellence of absolutism in Prussia. With the passing of the Reform Bill, in the estimation of those men, the immortal glories of the British constitution suddenly paled, became utterly extinguished (like John Keats’ fiery particle), by a vulgar pair of Whig candle-snuffers; our freedom suddenly became slavery, because the aristocratic interest was no longer free to have everything its own way; and our “snug little island” was snug no more, because the Tories were no longer snug in their places.

We, on the other hand, plead guilty to some very Liberal, or, we should rather hope, British prejudices in reference to this subject. Let parties change as they may, we feel strongly that we can have no community of feeling with continental despotism under any Avatar; and we are compelled to say so. For as to that cosmopolitan musing over a thing, and floating round about it with sublime indifference, which some will praise as the true historical position, we do not affect it; we can see with our own eyes only, and from that ground where God has planted us. Neither can we assume a philosophic air, and set out by stating that forms of government are indifferent;

“That which is best administered is best.”

For such forms, political and ecclesiastical, are not mere dresses, names, and fashions, which are so to-day for no better reason than because they were *not* so yesterday; they are embodiments; they express and represent, and are vitally combined with a principle. But on the other hand, while we must see the thing with British eyes, we are bound to keep them wide open to Prussian, not to English lights. Spandau, for instance, with our



illumination, is merely a dark dungeon, clad with liverwort and peopled with toads: while to Prussian lights it is a neat and admirably organized lunatic asylum, where every shatter-pated extravagant that with us makes a foolish noise in the world and disturbs the public peace—Chartist, Puseyite, Non-Intrusionist, Orangeist—is seasonably lodged, and paternally cared for. Young men are called striplings, according to Skinner, because until majority they are subject to stripes; and in this etymology we see certainly one side of the *paternal* system in Prussia, and why its state prisons were at one time so plentifully peopled.

One general remark of an historical nature we must make before endeavouring to present our readers with a short analysis of the Prussian system. The laudators of this “liberal and paternal despotism” make a grand blunder in the very threshold of their political philosophy. They would teach us by living example how much more admirably reforms are conducted by an absolute monarch than by a free people; but they forget to tell us what history speaks in the plainest phrase, that had it not been for the example and influence and *fear* of a free people, the lauded reforms of despotism had never seen the light. The 4th of August, 1789, mad as that night was, ~~must~~ be looked upon by the philosopher and historian as the proper father of all the late King of Prussia’s legislative wisdom; and the Prussian system, as it was in the year 1806, and as it is now essentially, had as little to do with the great reforms of 1808-12 as Sir Robert Peel’s genius with the Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1829. Altogether, the student of social science will observe that many things which we admire most in Berlin and Vienna, were done, not by virtue of the system, but in spite of it. Joseph II did not legislate for Austria on Austrian principles, any more than the late Sultan Mahmoud found his blue sirtout in the streets of Stamboul. As little did Stein do what he did for Prussia on Prussian principles. Prussian principles had fought and lost the battle of Jena; and what was done afterwards was done altogether on French principles, only not at all in a French fashion. The ‘Landrecht’ itself is very honest on this head. The edict of 27th October, 1811, in ordering an equality of taxation throughout the kingdom, assigns as reasons for this procedure, first, that the immunities formerly recognized in this matter were contrary to natural justice; and second, that they are “quite incompatible with the spirit of the laws that now prevail in the neighbouring states,”—a plain enough reference to France and the principles of the French Revolution. The French Revolution was, in fact, acted over again in Prussia after the battle of Jena; the Prussian

system proper had been weighed in the balance and found wanting; necessity pressed; ruin looked the monarchy sternly in the face; there was no time for half-measures, no choice of counselors; Frederick William took a Stein, a Scharnhorst, and an Arndt into his counsels,\* as Louis XVI took a Mirabeau; he became liberal and democratic, because despotism and aristocracy had brought the monarchy to the brink of ruin; in his reforms there was nothing of that grand prophetic instinct which feels the need of the future, and provides for it; his only virtue was the compulsory courage of the man who, because his eye offends him, plucks it out, knowing certainly that, if he does not do so, his whole body will be cast into hell-fire; and he appears wiser than Louis XVI, only because God raised up wiser ministers to advise, and a stronger necessity to compel him. Above all, there was the fearful sign of French terrorism hanging, like a pillar of fire and a pillar of cloud, over all Europe; that was not a thing which the most frivolous could presume to despise; and to wise and patriotic statesmen, like Stein and Hardenberg, it taught the solemn lesson that the only way to prevent the late outbreaking of popular vengeance, is with timely wisdom to redress popular wrongs.

In order to form a just notion of the Prussian system as it at present exists, we must set out from the state of parties as it was in Germany immediately after the peace. That this was no quiet or very manageable element, but full of fermentation and strife, we may well conceive. A people long accustomed to do nothing for themselves, used merely as instruments by aristocracy and police, had suddenly been called into independent action—had been made men, citizens, and soldiers, saviours of their country, conquerors of Napoleon, and deliverers of Europe. They who under the old system could have no marks to show but the mark of the corporal's cane, now went about in public places studded with Russian and Prussian crosses, beholding the ruddy countenance of Alexander in joy, and boasting that the stiff, formal paternity of Frederick William sat upon the throne of "old Fritz" by the grace of God certainly, but also by the strength of their arms. This was a state of things altogether new in Prussia; and to new circumstances, as all history teaches, only great and original minds are equal. The late king was a decent, respect-

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\* Arndt was not literally in the counsels of the King of Prussia in 1813, but he was Stein's right-hand man, and did more for the restoration of the monarchy than any other man, except Stein himself, Hardenberg, Scharnhorst, and Blücher. For these services he was rewarded as all honest and energetic Germans were after the peace, by state prosecutions, inquisitions, and harassments of every kind.—See his Memoirs lately published.

able, stern old gentleman, but without any great grasp of mind or nobility of sentiment; as an elder of a Calvinistic, or, as he was fond of phrasing it, Evangelical church, he might have been an ornament to any parish; as king in a limited monarchy like Great Britain he might have been respectable; as king in Prussia he was only not bad. It is not in him, accordingly, that we are to look for the moving power of the Prussian system as it has been working for the last twenty-five years; he did no more in Prussia (except in the one famous matter of forcing a church-union between Calvinists and Lutherans, and making a liturgy) than a sovereign of his calibre might have done in Great Britain; he did not control, but was controlled by the existing parties; he was the slave, not the shaper of the system. The parties with whom he had to deal were two; the Liberal party raised up by Stein, Scharnhorst, Arndt, and the popular enthusiasm of the liberation war; and the old absolutist aristocratic party, which had reigned supreme before the battle of Jena, and with other restorations now hoped to be restored in Prussia (as already in Hanover and Hesse it was being gallantly restored) to its ancient and legitimate ascendancy. The arguments of these two parties we may suppose pleaded before his Prussian Majesty, in 1816, somewhat in the following shape.

For the Liberal party it would be urged that democracy, philosophically considered, was an element that, whether statesmen relished it or not, seemed destined to enter strongly into all the forms of modern political development. That in Britain it had grown up gradually—in France been introduced volcanically—and in Prussia, by the reforms of Stein and Hardenberg, surgically. That the question for the King of Prussia's consideration was not whether he should go back to the old despotic system (for that was impossible), but how he could most wisely and safely develop to full fruition the democratic germs sown into the soil by the legislation of the last ten years. That democracy was dangerous only when left to itself—when smothered, and forced to find vent by fitful impulses; but that, when cherished and fairly treated by a paternal prince, it was the true stay and support of monarchy. That not only were the reforms of Stein and Hardenberg, by which the state had been saved, essentially popular and liberal in their nature, but the Congress of Vienna had expressly promised a representative constitution to the German States, and the King of Prussia had in the same year (1815) publicly confirmed that promise with reference to his kingdom. That though a representative constitution in the Anglo-French case might, in a Catholic country like Austria, be neither desirable nor practicable, yet in Protestant Prussia, where freedom of thought had

been long native, and a high state of intellectual culture attained, a free government was the only natural, the only possible government. That of all European people the Germans—not restless-turmoilers, like the French, possessed habitually by Hopdance and Flibbertigibbet, but solid, sensible, and systematic in all things—were the most fitted to exercise the important functions of self-government. That the municipal order established by Stein was, in fact, a confession and a proof of this; but that such a free constitution in the boroughs would be altogether an anomaly and an absurdity unless extended to the general government of the country. Further, that in Rhenish Prussia, an extensive and important province, many popular institutions already existed which the people clung to with affection, and which it would be impossible to supplant by the military system. That it was of the utmost consequence for Prussia to conciliate this province, a new acquisition, and not without French sympathies. That not in the Rhenish provinces only, but over the whole of Germany, especially in the south-west States, Liberalism was strong. That in Austria and Prussia there was, and must always be, a rivalry and a competition for the protectorate of the minor German States; and in this view Prussia had to consider not only what was proper for herself in her own internal organization, but what was politic for her in relation to the minor German States. That by taking a decidedly liberal course, in opposition to Austria, Prussia had a sure and speedy way of acquiring the ascendancy, and taking the lead in Germany, while, as an enlightened Protestant power, if she attached herself to Metternich and the system of political and ecclesiastical obscuratation which he represented, she would act in direct contradiction to her own principles, sink in that public estimation which had now placed her so high, and be obliged to assume the humiliating position of political equerry to Austria. By moral might and by popular sympathy only could Prussia hope to counteract in any degree the superior physical influence of Austria; if she threw away this, and, in the spirit of ante-Jenensian policy, sought to base herself on the mere mechanics of military, bureaucratic, and aristocratic puppetry, her fate was sealed. She might go on comfortably enough, as despotic France had done, for a season, but she must end also like France, when popular strength could no longer be outraged, in a revolution.

To this the party of the re-action would be ready with the reply, that democracy had indeed been on the increase latterly, might perhaps be still increasing, but it was not the less an evil, and to be watched with jealousy. A wise statesman might, perhaps, in these times, be forced to inoculate the people with a little

Liberalism, as physicians inoculate with cow-pox; but the very purpose of bringing on the milder affection advisedly is to prevent the accidental violent outbreaking of a fatal disease of the same kind. The reforms of Stein might be viewed in this light; or whatever might be their character or tendency, they certainly were not carried through by French or constitutional machinery. "Tout pour le peuple rien par lui" is the maxim of every wise and paternal government; and in this spirit the great reforms that characterize Prussian legislation have always been carried out. It was false in particular to say that Stein and Hardenberg had saved Prussia by Liberalism in 1813. It was patriotism that saved Prussia then, as it had saved it before from a no less dangerous combination under Frederick the Great, at a time when even in France the name of Constitutionalism was unknown. No one could cast a glance on the past history of Prussia, short but glorious as it had been, without perceiving that she owed all her grandeur and her European importance to the strength and energy of her purely monarchical government. Frederick William, the great Elector, in the 17th century, and his greater successor in the 18th, had achieved what they did achieve—literally *made* Prussia—as much by the unembarrassed field of action which they could command as by the weight of extraordinary abilities. The great Elector in particular had set himself steadily against the obstinacy of the East Prussian States when they endeavoured to tie his hands in the central administration of his dominions; and it requires no very profound political glance to see that if this remarkable man, in the critical times that followed the peace of Westphalia, had adopted any other plan of government, the north of Germany at the present moment, instead of presenting the aspect of a strong and united Prussian monarchy, would have been a mere bundle of German and Slavonic anarchy. As for the German character generally, nothing was a greater mistake than to suppose that because the Germans, at least the North Germans, were the most intellectual and best educated people in Europe, they were therefore either much inclined, or particularly well adapted, for exercising political power. The pragmatism and pugnaciousness of an American or an English politician were indeed so very far from having anything to do with intellectual superiority that they produced naturally an habitual undervaluation of science, and chilled all pure enthusiasm for the fine arts. The Germans were not a politically educated people—had no desire to be so. They were accustomed to see public affairs managed systematically by men who had made politics a special study, and had been practically trained to the details of the most difficult of all arts, the art of

governing ;\* whereas, in constitutional countries, the most important affairs were left to the chance direction of every skip-jack champion of battling parties, who were more solicitous to vex one another than to do good to their country. As for the King of Prussia, he had indeed, following out a well-known article in the act of confederation, promised States and a representation to the Prussian people ; but he was not talking, and could not by any rational man be understood to be talking, of French or English, but of German States, a thing well known in native history, and perfectly consistent with that strong central energy of the governing power, and sympathetic obedience of all the outermost members, without which a good government could not exist. German States were consultative, not legislative bodies ; and these the King of Prussia had determined to create and to maintain in such a manner as was consistent both with the provincial liberties of the people and the independence of the central government. As to the relations of Prussia to Austria and the minor German States, that was a very simple matter, and, when properly considered, afforded indeed the strongest of all arguments against the schemes of the Constitutionals. A cry had been raised for German unity ; and though the incongruous mob of beardless boys and bearded pedagogues who had raised this cry entertained, as might be expected, no very definite ideas on the subject, yet it was an important subject certainly, and, as affecting the independence of Germany in its foreign relations, a subject demanding the serious consideration of every patriot, in preference to any new and doubtful schemes of internal organization. Now it was manifest that if Prussia should stand forward against Austria as the champion of so called liberal principles, the unity of Germany was gone. Prussia might succeed in attaching to herself some of the Protestant States, but Austria would have equal influence with the Catholic ones ; and in any event Germany, by the introduction of the Anglo-Gallic element, would

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\* In Prussia, as in most states of Germany, a candidate for the higher offices of government, and even for many mere clerkships and other subordinate situations, must have studied at the University the following branches :—1. The law of nations (*Natur-recht*). 2. The public or constitutional law of the most famous nations. 3. The principles of the Roman and German law. 4. Police administration. 5. Political economy (*Staats wirthschaft*). 6. Universal history. 7. History of public treaties. 8. Diplomacy. 9. Statistics. After he has finished this University *curriculum*, the candidate has further to pass through a practical preparatory course in different departments of government for a number of years, and only after he has been found duly qualified in *two* (or, if he is a lawyer and has served in the courts of justice, in *three*) consecutive examinations, he is considered fit to be enrolled as an officer of state.

be clearly divided against herself; and the confederation which they had just, with great difficulty, manufactured at Vienna, fall asunder more quickly than it had been made. It was plain, therefore, that to attain that national unity which every true German must have more at heart than constitutional experimenting, however splendid, the first thing necessary was the close union of Austria and Prussia, which union alone could have influence sufficient to give consistency, unity, and dignity to the proceedings of the confederation; and it was equally evident that this union could be effected only on principles of strict conservatism. The character of the German people, the genius of the Prussian monarchy, the interests of the Germanic confederation, all combined to dictate to the sovereign an accession to the Austrian and Russian, rather than to the Franco-English political system. Prussia certainly, by virtue of the preponderating Teutonic element in her population, was the German State *par excellence*; the minor States had a right to look up to her for direction and championship, while the tendencies of Austria naturally lay more towards Italy and the mouth of the Danube. Prussia would not be backward in asserting her natural influence over the western and south-western States of the confederation, but there were many more certain, certainly more safe, ways of asserting this influence than by standing forward as the propagandist of French Liberalism, an act which in a King of Prussia would be the most base betrayal of his sovereign rights—perfect political suicide.

The *pro* and *con* of Liberalism and Absolutism which we have here stated the reader will bear in mind is no mere argument; it is a fact. That the Prussian government, some twenty or twenty-five years ago, seriously entertained the notion of cherishing the constitutional parliamentary system, is a fact of which there are a thousand evidences, and which writers by no means tinged with "French ideas" have been the most forward to admit (Hansemann, p. 287). It is a fact also that since that period this notion has gradually relaxed, and, as it seems now, is altogether abandoned. Prussia has, since 1817, been governed on the principle of a monarchico-aristocratico-bureaucratic reaction against the Liberalism which had been called up in the hour of need to vanquish Napoleon; an issue at which no man with a grain of political sagacity will be surprised. The late King of Prussia himself might indeed have been induced to consent to the limitation of his absolute authority more readily than a monarch of greater energy and ability; perhaps he really was, like his brother Alexander of Russia, a little infected with Liberalism in some points; but the united

aristocracy and bureaucracy acting in harmony with the vulgar prejudices and interests which belonged to his position, would soon prevail to clear his brain of such unkingly hallucinations. Accordingly we find, in an able memorial written by a Prussian diplomatist in the year 1822 (No. I of Dr Kombst's 'Aktenstückes'), the constitutional system denounced as essentially opposed to the character of the Prussian monarchy, and on no account to be tolerated. On this principle the Prussian government has since acted, and its acts are patent to the world. Dr Kombst, whose publicistic talents are well known, says "that he is acquainted with no writing in which the system followed by Prussia for the last twenty years is so clearly developed as in the memorial of 1822." The paper bears internal evidence to its own value; it contains a theory which explains all the facts, and would in this respect be of the utmost importance to the politician, were its internal connexion with the Prussian government as uncertain as it is authentic. We subjoin a short extract.

"The nature of the form of government which can alone secure the grandeur and influence of Prussia, excludes of itself, without reference to other considerations, irrevocably all favour to the democratic-representative ideas which at present are so widely spread in Germany. THESE IDEAS IN ALL THEIR PHASES AND CONSEQUENCES PRUSSIA CAN ONLY DECIDEDLY OPPOSE. In carrying out this opposition, however, any appearance of leaning to the other extreme, and taking part with the hierarchical principles of the Catholic monarchies, is carefully to be avoided; Protestant Germany must not be offended. The true Prussian policy is, with the one hand to hold firmly the reins of monarchical authority, and with the other to extend an enlightened patronage over Protestantism on the continent. Prussia must hold herself forth as that monarchy which, while it is decidedly opposed to popular forms, does nevertheless possess the greatest number of properly Liberal maxims of government, as the monarchy which everywhere patronises true intelligence and enlightenment, which possesses the most certain, the most strong, and the most clear-headed administration, and which opens the most freely to every talent its most appropriate career."

These words are short, but significant. They characterize the spirit of the Prussian government in two words—a determined hostility to Liberal forms, and an ostentatious parade of Liberal principles. The men who inhabit the banks of the Spree and the Havel are famous boasters; they are ever forward to sound themselves as the most enlightened and the most Liberal politicians in Europe. So the good people of Scotland also have it ever in their mouths that they are the most moral and the most religious people that God made. We shall see presently to what the liberalism of



the Prussian government amounts; meanwhile we may be permitted to express an opinion, that, as in ecclesiastical policy no such monstrosity has hitherto appeared as the union of the form of Popery with the substance of Protestantism, but each of these religious phases rather has a form of its own correspondent to its substance, so in civil policy a union of despotical forms with liberal principles seems an impossibility. Such a combination is a mere juggling with phrases to deceive the superficial. A despotic government is good in one way, and a liberal government is good in another way (the Englishman thinks a liberal government the *best* in many ways); but these two kinds of goodness were never made to amalgamate. They are opposed to one another as affirmation is to negation, as Popery, or sacerdotal Christianity, is to Protestantism, or the Christianity of the individual. And the Pope unquestionably, we may here say, is a much more heroic character, and a much more honest man, than the King of Prussia. The Pope pretends to no Liberalism, he admits of no compromise, and is admired deservedly of all Europe for his consistency.

Let us now look a little more minutely, link by link, into the peculiar concatenation of Prussian despotism. We begin properly with

THE KING; and a few sentences from the statute-book will best explain the nature of his power. In the second part of the 'Landrecht,' title 13, we read—

"§ 1.—All the rights and duties of the State towards its citizens and towards its allies, are united in the Sovereign.

"§ 4.—To the Sovereign belong all and whatsoever privileges and rights are necessary for the maintenance of the public peace, and the advancement of the public weal.

"§ 6.—To the Sovereign belongs specially the right of making laws, and of administering the police; the right also of rescinding and of interpreting the laws with legal authority.

"§ 7.—No capital sentence, or sentence to ten years' imprisonment, pronounced by a court of law, is valid without the royal confirmation.

"§ 8.—All societies that exist or may arise in the State, and public institutions of every description, are subject to the supervision and control of the government.

"§ 15.—The right to impose taxes on the persons, property, trade, and production of his subjects, is a right of Majesty."

These propositions proclaim clearly enough the omnipotence of the sovereign, as the organic principle of the Prussian system; and so it is in fact, much more than parliament with its omnipotence in the organic principle of the British system. The King

of Prussia, through his hundred-armed bureaucracy, literally manufactures everything in his dominions, from the buttons on his soldiers' coats to the prayers in his people's liturgy; *manufactures* we say, for all voluntary vitality, all independent, original, moral, and social movements, are rigorously interdicted. It is the principle of government in Prussia, that if God and nature be permitted to do anything of their own accord, they will infallibly blunder; therefore the King is set up to teach the grass how to grow, and to preach to the stomachs of men how they shall and how they shall not be hungry. This is a literal fact in Prussia; nothing exists in that region but by virtue of a stamp and a license; and the congregations of a few idle Burschen to drink beer, or of a few fair penitents to sing psalms, are equally high treason against the majesty of the monarch. These things appear revolting, ridiculous to us; they are so; but if we will cast away all faith in the nature of man, a government by force and by suspicion seems the only alternative. Either God sent forth man as a rational being, at least a being capable of rationality, and with rationality capable of acquiring self-government in some shape or other; or he sent him forth as a wild beast and a fool, to be managed only by a cunning combination of cajolery and chains. This latter is the creed of absolutism if it would dare to speak itself out. Frederick the Great, a genuine Prussian, was great and honest enough to speak it out; and, like Lord Byron, had more faith in dogs than in men. The present Prussian government deals more in liberal phrases; but its principle is the same, as, indeed, it is the principle of all absolutism, ecclesiastical as well as civil—a thorough want of faith in human nature.

It is curious to look back from the present perfect development of despotism in Prussia to those times, not very far distant, when liberty still existed something more than a name. And here we find, as in the case of Poland; and so many other sad instances of which history is full, that though the enslavets were not guiltless, the free men by the abuse of their own freedom were chiefly to blame. So when Frederick of Hohenzollern, Burg-graf of Nürtemberg, the founder of the present dynasty, in the year 1415, came to take possession of the Electorate of Brandenburg, bought by hard cash and good services from Kaiser Sigismund, he found the native nobility, who should have been the protectors of the other classes and the representatives of their liberties, organised almost as a regular gang of robbers and freebooters. To prostrate these men was to lay the foundation of government; and as they were indeed wild beasts, and not reasonable beings, Frederick, instead of state logic and liberal principles, brought to bear against them

a great gun called "Lazy Meg" (*die faule corete*), carrying twenty-four balls; the effect of which was soon enough to drive one-half of them out of the country, and to bring the other half to the Electoral palace, "with ropes about their necks," to do homage. This was a bold stroke of the first Hohenzollern, and deserves all praise. The bold barons, in their rude strength, had boasted that, "though it should rain burg-graves a whole year without ceasing, none should ever be allowed to take root in the Mark;" but "Lazy Meg" was stronger, and destined to stand forth eternized in history as a grand prophecy of the military system which has since done such wonders in Prussia. Another famous epoch in the history of Prussian liberties is the reign of Frederick William, the great Elector; but here the faithlessness of the governor, not the lawlessness of the governed, brought about the loss of liberty. From this Sovereign properly the present military system, and with that the European significance of the Prussian monarchy, dates. From him also dates the system of governing by lies and perfidy when force fails, of which the modern German Liberals accuse the present Prussian government, which certainly it cannot be doubted that the great Elector practised on a great scale. The most remarkable instance of this princely perfidy, and one which irrevocably fixed the character of the government, is that public lie by which he extorted the submission of the East Prussian States in 1663. By the treaty of Welau (1657) and the peace of Oliva (1660), Frederick William had been recognised by Poland as hereditary and independent duke of a province, East Prussia, which his family had hitherto held only as the vassals of Poland. The hereditary grant had been obtained from the King of Poland as feudal superior, and with this the Elector naturally thought that the transaction was completed. But no! a remarkable phenomenon presented itself; the States thought they also had something to say in the matter. They were not to be transferred from one proprietor to another by the stroke of a pen, like so much stock lying in a bank; they had a right to choose their own master, and to impose on him what conditions they pleased before taking the oath of fidelity. They were determined that no Elector of Brandenburg should lord it over the Prussian people by divine right, or by the right of the sword, but by social contract. Rousseau, indeed, was not born in these days, nor had French speculators begun to ratiocinate about the rights of man; but the States of East Prussia propounded their philosophy, asserted their principle, and carried their point in the face of one of the most energetic and powerful princes of Europe. One philosophy, however, was too deep for them; they did not know that the vows

of despots, like dreams, are to be interpreted contrariwise. They believed the word of a liar, and they were deceived. After using every appliance of force and stratagem in vain, Frederick William, before receiving the oath of fealty, on the 12th day of March, 1663, solemnly swore to the following effect:—"That the treaty of Welau and the peace of Oliva, by which the Prussians had been handed over from Polish to Brandenburg sovereignty, were utterly null without the consent of the States; that in respect of that consent now given, the Elector would maintain inviolable their ancient rights, and undertake nothing of importance in which the duchy was concerned without the advice and good pleasure of the States; that, in particular, he would not involve it in a war, or lay on imposts and taxes, without the consent of the said States; that a parliament should be called every six years; and that on his accession to the sovereignty every future Elector should, before receiving the oath of fealty, swear solemnly to maintain the Prussian constitution and privileges as they had been enjoyed under the superiority of Poland.\* Such and so liberal was the constitution of Prussia in the year 1663, looking, to all outward judgment, as lasting as the constitution of Great Britain in 1688; but where the prince has no honour, and the people no strength, it is in vain to hope that seals, and stamps, and signatures will secure the liberties of a nation. It does appear, however, a notable thing in Prussian history, that its two most distinguished sovereigns—the great Elector and the great Frederick—should have distinguished themselves by acts of more than common perfidy and baseness; and when we compare the treachery that accompanied the acquisition of Prussia in the 17th century with the meanness that effectuated the several partitions of Poland in the 18th, we are almost tempted to think that a certain baseness of soul and lack of moral heroism is hereditary in Prussia; and we seem to see a clear exemplification of a great law of nature, which has been admirably expressed by the German dramatist—

"This is the very curse of wicked deeds—  
Once done, they must beget more wickedness."

After the social contract of the great Elector, we hear no more of States in Prussia till the year 1815, when the Congress of Vienna (strangely enough!) announced to the world, "In allen Bundestaaten soll eine landstændische Verfassung statt finden." (Act of Confederation, art. 13.) "A CONSTITUTION by States shall exist in all States of the Confederation;" which liberal-sounding declaration was scarcely proclaimed to the gaping ears

\* Stenzel, vol. ii, p. 197.

of German Constitutionalists, when it was followed by another of similar import, expressly from the Prussian monarch. "Es soll eine Repräsentation des Volks gebildet werden."—"A REPRESENTATION of the people shall be formed." (Landrecht, Th. II, title 13, § 18, B.) And if, after this talk of representation and constitutions on the part of the governor, some of the more enthusiastic of the governed did begin to dream of the possibility of such a thing, and did speak out their faith in honest and energetic phrase, who is to blame for these "demagogic agitations" (demagogische umtriebe\*) but the monarch himself? Whatever the diplomatic conclave in Vienna and the cabinet council in Berlin might understand by the words, "states, constitution, and popular representation," these words were part of the current political language of the times, and were understood to mean something altogether different from the system of absolutism which Prussia since the peace has so conscientiously followed. Herein lies the guilt of the modern Prussian government; not plain perfidy, like that of the great Elector, but only a little humbug, or say mere weakness and vacillation; for we never can persuade ourselves that Prussia really means to introduce a *bonâ fide* representative constitution, instead of her present military-bureaucratic one. Neither do we think that the present King of Prussia is in any way bound to do so; he cannot be bound to commit suicide on his own sovereign rights. His father was bound to introduce a popular representation only in "honour;" by law he was entitled any day to rescind the resolution of yesterday (*vide supra*), and the son plainly is bound neither in law nor in honour. We shall not even insist that a constitutional government in Prussia would at present be either practicable or expedient (though we have a strong private opinion that it is both practicable and expedient); the letter of the law also may be sufficiently satisfied by the provincial consultative (not legislative) States that at present exist; but what we blame and what we detest in the Prussian government is the parade they are accustomed to make of liberal phrases when anything but Liberalism is intended; the unprincipled and unreasoning inconsistency with which they first create crimes, and then punish them, filling their own prisons and the land of the stranger with political offenders, of whose treason they are themselves the authors.

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\* Read that article and the article 'Wartburgsest' in the 'Conversations Lexicon.'—See also the 'Memoirs of Arndt,' Leipzig, 1840, and Menzel's 'History of the Germans,' c. 492.—A pale and smock-faced affair altogether, and most characteristic of German governments, whose statesmen, accustomed to sail only in artificial canals, if once they happen to find themselves on open sea, fall into a fever straight, and fear to be drowned when one wave whips the deck not big enough to fill the scupper-holes.

The system of mock-representation by provincial States in Prussia, is a thing very characteristic both of Prussia and of the Prussian government; of Prussia, because it exhibits that country as essentially a patch-work, destitute of all inward unity, and kept together only by external force; of the Prussian government, because it is a striking instance how jealous that government is of any popular influence exercised on its central authority, and how it can only tolerate a sort of popular activity in the extreme members, in so far as such activity tends to contract and localize the ideas of the citizen, without exciting in him any presumptuous conception that he is entitled to have a voice in the effective legislation of the country. The law of June 5, 1823, instituting the provincial States, declares their right and powers as follows:—"So long as no General Assembly of the States shall be called, the projects of such general laws as propose a change in the taxation of the kingdom shall be submitted to the consultation ('Berathung,' not 'Beschluss,' or decision) of the provincial States, in so far as they affect the province.

"The community-interests of the provinces shall be submitted to the decision ('Beschluss') of the States, 'under reservation always of our supervisorship and confirmation.'"

From which it appears that the popular representation of which the "liberal despotism" of Prussia boasts is a right, "under royal supervisorship and confirmation," to impose certain provincial and county rates for building bridges, macadamizing roads, cleansing common sewers, and other matters of that comprehension; but that they have legally as little right to influence the general legislation of the kingdom as they have to influence the British parliament. Thus, in principle; in practice, matters are much worse; for the members of the provincial States, though elected apparently by a free constituency, and allowed to assume an independent position in presence of the sovereign power, are, in fact, by means of a wide-spreading and all-influential bureaucracy, so managed and led by the government, that to talk of popular rights and representation in their case is the sheerest mockery. And Herr Hansemann accordingly informs us that no complete budget, even of provincial expenses, has hitherto been laid before the Rhenish States, and that extensive outlays of public money, in matters of mere provincial concernment, are daily made without the sanction of the States being either asked or given. And he thinks also, what is sufficiently characteristic, that the government may be perfectly authorised in this conduct; because all the enactments of the Prussian statute-book, which talk of popular rights, are so vague and general, and so liable to be crossed and counteracted by other

enactments of a contrary tendency, that every *plus* in the Liberal legislation of Prussia must be understood to have a *minus*, which makes the practical result nothing. Of this both he and Herr Venedey give a remarkable instance in the matter of the national debt. In the year 1820 a cabinet order of the 17th January, on the regulation of the national debt, declared, "That for the future no public loan should be made without calling the States General." The States General have not yet been either called or constituted; but the Prussian government, it appears, has a bank called the "Sea Company," which by statute is empowered to make government loans; one statute does not repeal another by implication, so the Sea Company still continue to increase the national debt at the pleasure of the council of state and the minister of finance; and the very liberal cabinet order of the 17th January is a dead letter. The litany of Prussian Liberalism is full of such dead letters.

The Prussian monarchy being thus absolutely unlimited by the provincial parliaments that are, or the national parliament that is to be, is there no other social might that practically limits that which is in theory absolute, and healthily tempers that which is in tone acrid? Assuredly there is; for though the Prussian phrase of Liberalism is most Jesuitical and base, yet as a pure and unmitigated despotism Prussia is certainly entitled to the praise of being an enlightened and an efficient despotism. Grant the postulate of absolutism, that self-government in the body social is the greatest of all chimeras—that everything must be done *for* the people, nothing *by* the people, and the Prussian government does what it has to do better and more efficiently than any other despotism which the world has yet seen. How comes this? The two grand might which have mitigated and toned down the Prussian despotism, are, first, that which we mentioned prominently in the outset of these remarks—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION; and second, that which is of most native German and Prussian growth—PROTESTANTISM. We said that the French Revolution was in fact acted over again in Prussia after the battle of Jena; Stein, the impatient, the fiery, the energetic, the stern old aristocrat, and yet the warm advocate of popular rights, was its Mirabeau; he abolished the exclusive privileges of the nobility; he released their land from its barren entails, and by a bold agrarian law made it a thing of public commerce; he elevated the peasant serfs into independent proprietors; he created a middle class; with one blow he defeudalized the most feudal despotism in Germany. Such wonders were worked by the French Revolution; and though the men who now govern, and have for the last twenty years governed

Prussia, have shown a strong inclination to retrace their steps, and have acted consistently on the principle of reaction, yet they have found it impossible to undo essentially what has been done. The citizenship of the Prussian serfs is now "an accomplished fact;" feudalism cannot be restored; the nobility, whom the new King has shown a desire to reconstruct,\* if recreated, will not command the ancient respect; the King of Prussia is the most absolute of modern monarchs, but he is and must be the monarch of the middle classes. So far the Prussian despotism of the present day may well be compared with the French despotism under Napoleon—equality, but no liberty; according to that of the poet—

"The Kaiser has for all an equal heart,  
And cannot sink one class to lift another."

Which is most literally true of the present King of Prussia; for all claims before him are sunk equally low, and may rise equally high. In this point of view it cannot be doubted that the Prussian government is in every respect superior to our own, which being founded essentially on aristocracy, and pervaded by the spirit of caste, is most unequal in some things, and more unjust than any government of Europe. We are only, in fact, at this present moment, and since the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill, beginning to act the French Revolution over again in England, and to all appearance we have not yet finished the business. Perhaps, by God's blessing, we shall be able to go through the crisis in a much more healthy way than was the case either with Prussia or France. We are likely to manage it gradually.

The other influence which has modified, and continues essentially to modify, the character of the Prussian despotism, is PROTESTANTISM. It is true, indeed, that this phasis of Christianity has in Prussia, as in other countries, always shown itself much more willing to bend the neck before state absolutism than sturdy old Popery; but Protestantism is in inward principle, however it may have been accidentally affected by its outward relations to the secular power, essentially a democratic thing; and the King of Prussia, were it free to him to choose the

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\* The present king, shortly after his succession, on the occasion of his coronation at Königsberg, granted a number of titles of nobility, under the express condition that these titles were only to descend upon the oldest son, that they were connected with a certain estate, and should cease to belong to the family as soon as this estate should cease to belong to it. From recent travellers we learn that the German nobles themselves are not very favourable to such a reconstruction of the nobility.\* One of the principal arguments against it is, its palpable injustice towards younger sons, which formerly was unknown in Germany, or at least limited to some of the highest aristocratic families of the land. •



religion which should be homogeneous throughout to his principles of state policy, would assuredly prefer the filial precepts of Confucius to the rebellious protests of Martin Luther. But Protestantism exists in Prussia, like the reforms of Stein, an historical result, "an accomplished fact" which there is no getting rid of; nay, worse than this, it is an indwelling principle of intellectual independence, which is continually working with intense energy against that system of absolute subordination and submission which Prussia preaches as the highest perfection of the social state. Sad, too, it is for the consistency of Prussian absolutism, that in no country has the Protestant principle of private judgment received so grand and free a development as in Germany. In other countries, what they call Protestantism is merely a sort of mild Popery; Calvin's Catechism, instead of Bellarmin's; but in Germany they really do *study* the Bible. The enterprise and the boldness of the theological mind in Germany are sufficiently known. But theology is a region where the strongest mortal wing will soon flap itself weary; the spirit of research must therefore penetrate into other regions, and in this age of the world there is no more likely region for an adventurous mind than political and social science. Here, then, lies the danger. May not that feverish German speculation which has tried its strength in so many regions of religion and metaphysics, turn itself at last upon politics, become practical, as poets write prose when they get older? Is it not, even now, shaking our pillars, sapping our foundations? Unquestionably. But an active spirit of inquiry, for which the Germans are famous—the proper offspring of Protestantism—and which has, since the year 1813, begun to take a practical and political direction, is the most dangerous enemy that the Prussian system has in Prussia; an enemy also unfortunately which cannot be cast out, like one or two swashbuckler Burschen, to America; it is like indwelling sin in the saints, which oftentimes waxes strong even to apparent mastery. Nay, it keeps the tight army of bureaucrats in continual fear; for intelligence in an intelligent country is a spy that sees things hidden even to a Prussian police, acts as a sort of unspoken public opinion, and constantly to be dreaded parliamentary insurrection we may say. It is altogether a fearful power, too strong to be put down violently, too dangerous to be unconditionally tolerated. It acts practically as a most potent check on bureaucratic despotism; and bureaucratic despotism, with the natural instinct of self-preservation, reacts as a check upon it in more ways than one; and the main check which they employ is the censorship; for though a man may say anything in Germany with a little tact, he dare not say it in any direction;

he must shoot his arrows up into the clouds, not directly at the object which he wishes to cleave. Of this we have a remarkable instance in Herr Venedey's book, 'Preussen and Preussenthum,' the title of which we have borrowed to head our present observations, but which the reader will not find in any Leipzig catalogue. The book is forbidden; as every book is in Prussia that freely and manfully, and in a spirit of uncompromising criticism, discusses the conduct of public affairs. We do not know whether Herr Hansemann's book has been forbidden also; Herr Venedey says it was; but it has reached a second edition; so either the bar has been removed, or the Saxon booksellers are too independent to trouble themselves about fulminations from the Vatican in Berlin. Be this as it may, Hansemann's book, even more aptly than Venedey's, may serve as a sample of the operation of the censorship in Prussia. Venedey slashes without ceremony or mercy; he is not only bold, but bitter; he writes in a tone of decided hostility, like some Luther denouncing a Leo. Such a man of course is not to be tolerated in Prussia; his presence is public rebellion against the vital principle of the government; he is a blasphemer, a curser of parents, a despiser of dignities, a stirrer up of seditions; he cannot remain in that region unless his nostril be willing to receive the snaffle; he goes forth, therefore, with an iron countenance, glowing all over like honest Börne, to join "the Germans in Paris," or Pennsylvania; he flings a bolt, a burning book, behind him; and the Prussian government might as soon tolerate a Roebuck in the provincial States of the Rhine as such a book. Hansemann again is a gentleman (and a Jesuit also, one almost suspects); he is cool, correct, proper, and accurate in all things; wreathes his sting cunningly in a smile; honeys the drug that the child may not pout; and having nothing of the barbarous in his disposition, he gets the civil presumption in his favour, that where he does wound it is the needful cut of the surgeon, not the reckless stab of the assassin. Such a man is the only proper person to write a German book on Prussian policy; for as to downright, plain-spoken, political honesty in *honest Deutschland*, that is a conceit under the pious sway of paternal Prussia not to be dreamt of for a moment. He is an impudent boy, who speaks plainly to papa.

The spirit of Protestantism, taken generally as the spirit of intellectual activity and independence, for want of a House of Commons and a free press, manifests itself mainly in Prussia through the universities. These institutions in Germany generally have always been distinguished by a boldness, a breadth of intellectual gladiatorship, not at all in harmony with the minute and anxious mechanics which distinguish the social system of that country. We find, accordingly, that Prussia has stood promi-

nently forward in the measures that have been taken at different times since the peace to gag the mouths of free-spoken professors, and to clip the wings of the beer-inspired fantasy of the Burschen. She makes a boast, indeed, of her magnificent educational system; and the boast has become, by frequent echoings, almost European; but when we praise here, as praise we must, we must praise with discrimination. As an absolutist power, Prussia neither wishes nor can wish for the realization of that highest ideal of education that Protestantism projects,—the freest possible development of the individual mind; but what she cherishes and fosters is substantially that which Popish Austria also cherishes,—the education which trains men to passive obedience, and drills them dexterously into social subservience. Nor let it be supposed that this is a small amount of education. The Jesuits were ingenious and learned men; so are the Prussian diplomatists, who are the Jesuits of this nineteenth century. Despotism requires clever men; despotism, if it find them not, will force educated men; but they must be educated to be useful, and to be used according to a plan. Now the German universities, as we all know, are the most planless educational institutions in the world; their principle is that nature shall not be hampered, that the youthful mind shall develop itself as freely as possible, according to the genuine idea of Protestantism. And such deep root has this principle taken in Germany, that, notwithstanding the help of Metternich and the Diet, it seems in the long-run much more probable that the universities will subdue the Prussian system than that the Prussian system will subdue the universities. Externally, however, the Prussian system seems evermore to triumph; as this professor suspended, that Bursch banished, and the ingenious discovery of high treason in a bacchanalian song, ever and anon publicly manifests. So much for the universities. In the inferior institutions the Prussian system has more free scope, and accordingly we find\* that village schoolmasters, private tutors, and instructors of youth of all sorts, are subjected in Prussia not only to a most strict government superintendence in the matter as well as the manner of education, but further, that they live habitually in an atmosphere of control and inspection from above, which amounts virtually to *espionage*. The masters are strictly enjoined to nip every utterance of independent thought or action on the part of their pupils in the bud; and for themselves, they know that the mere suspicion of political heresy, in any shape, is sufficient to remove them from their seats and from their salaries. In the ministerial circulars we also

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\* See the passages from Cabinet Orders and Ministerial Circulars, quoted at length by Venedey in his first chapter.

find frequent warnings against the great danger of over-education, a most natural and proper warning to proceed from an absolute government; for, as the Popish religion cares mainly for the education of the priests, so a despotic government cares consistently for the thorough education only of the bureaucracy. A Prussian diplomatist cannot be too clever; a Prussian subject may readily be overwise. And accordingly we find, from the reports of recent travellers, that the Prussian government has been seriously thinking of taking in the canvass of the educational ship. Witness the following passage from George Combe:—

“When I visited Prussia in 1837, one serious evil in this educational system had begun to develop itself. The education of females under the national system has been so much inferior to that of the males, that a body of young women has grown up who are strikingly behind the men of the same generation in general intelligence and accomplishments. The consequence of this inequality in mental attainments is a diminution in that respect for women which has long been a beautiful feature in the Prussian character. The cause of this evil was understood and regretted by many persons; but it was whispered in society that the government was more inclined to diminish the education of the men than to increase that of the women. ‘But,’ said I to a Prussian gentleman, ‘why do not your enlightened men themselves institute higher schools for females?’—‘You speak,’ said he, ‘like a Briton. Here nothing can be done without the government. Should any private individuals attempt to establish improved academies for female education without the sanction of government, they would be immediately stopped.’”\*

This is sufficiently characteristic. Altogether we see that the Prussian government is in a false position with regard to education. The American people, as the same candid and intelligent traveller remarks, are educated far beneath the standard which democracy requires; the German people generally, and the Prussians in particular, far too high for the purposes of despotism. The minister of public instruction, therefore, in Prussia, does right to lower the general standard of popular education, if he can; for either the people must give up the habit of thinking, or the government give up the habit of interdicting the expression of thought.

In connexion with Protestantism in Prussia, we have not mentioned the church, which one might think was the proper body and bearer of the spirit of Martin Luther in that country; but the fact is that the church is, both physically and morally, a

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\* We have seen in Prussia schools for girls, much superior to any existing in England; but the Germans have generally (from their domestic habits) a strong prejudice against female authorship; and that learning is not encouraged among women is, we think, to be attributed more to popular prejudice than any difficulties occasioned by Government.—ED.

weak thing in Germany; physically, because it is poor; morally, because the real pulpit of the public mind is the professional cathedra. And even where the church orator does command the public mind, he does so only as an emanation from the great centre of intellectual activity in the universities. Singular enough! In Germany, the universities control the church; in England, the church controls the universities. 'Tis a matter that deserves to be pondered.

One characteristic thing only with regard to the Protestant church in Prussia we shall mention. It is altogether built into the state; thoroughly Evangelical; according to the most extreme sect of those who swear by the twenty-third chapter of the Westminster Confession; most safely planted beyond the unpleasant possibility of intrusion; the clergy are recognized in the Landrecht only as state-officers (*Beamte*); and the sovereign manufactures the liturgy and reforms the hymn-book according to the absolute omnipotence of his pious whim. When the old curate dies, the new curate finds on the reading desk "a new liturgy bound in violet, with a golden cross on the cover, presented to the parish by his majesty himself;"\* which liturgy, if the restive parson will not loyally receive, he is forthwith sent to Spandau; and if Spandau will not reform him, he is sent to Paris; while his pious congregation wanders out by fifties and by hundreds to Australia, because prayer-meetings are high treason in Silesia. So the paternal system works in Prussia and in China; "for I intend to render the empire filial," as the late Celestial said when he bamboozed a whole district for the offence of one.

On no subject have the laudators of the Prussian system talked with less understanding, or, if they did understand, with less fairness, than on the municipal corporations. These have been set forth as something so essentially democratic in their constitution, that practically they may well be considered as a sufficient compensation to the Prussian citizen for the want of public parliaments and liberty of the press; at least we may look upon them as admirable schools of freedom, nurseries of constitutionalism, visible pledges of the popular principles, and living earnestness of the liberal intentions of the government. Most sorry are we to state, on the other hand (though nothing surprised), that after a minute examination of this matter, we have found no traces of anything in any sense popular, much less democratic, but rather another clear and irrefragable proof, added to the many which we already

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\* *Meine Suspension, Einkerkung, und Auswanderung.* Von Otto Friedrich Wehrhahn. Leipzig, 1839. A curious piece of ecclesiastical autobiography, which, in these church times, might well be appended to a new edition of De Marca's famous book, '*De Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii.*'

possess, that anything in the shape of individual independence and popular control is altogether inconsistent with the spirit of the Prussian system, and if it exists in any department of that system, exists only as an exception and an anomaly. It is easy, however, to see how those who have found a counterpoising democracy in the municipal system of Prussia have allowed themselves to be deceived. They have taken the fair phrases of Stein's municipal order, promulgated in 1808, for substantial gospel; they have assumed that the then liberal principles of the government, adopted by necessity in the hour of public danger, are the principles on which the present Prussian ministry acts, and on which it has acted since the peace; they have spoken as if the thirteen millions of souls which inhabit the large geographical extent of the Prussian kingdom in 1840 were all governed by the same laws which governed the six millions inhabiting the small geographical extent of Prussia, maimed and truncated as it was by the peace of Tilsit. But if any person chooses to look into the statute book (Th. II, title 8, § 178, II), he will there find how totally different the fact is from all such fond imaginations. He will there find in the revised municipal order of 17th March, 1831, what the real Prussian system is with regard to civic liberties. There are no such liberties. The new municipal order, after raising considerably both the burgess qualification and the elective franchise, and fixing a high (moneyed) standard of eligibility, proceeds to detail how town deputies shall be chosen by the people, and the burgomaster by the town deputies; how the election of the burgomaster is not valid until it receive the royal confirmation; and how, after he has been confirmed by government, he remains in power for twelve years as the paid and pensionable servant of the state, answerable to the government immediately, not to the citizens, for his public conduct, and liable to be suspended and removed by a wink from the same authority. The town councillors, or real representatives of the burgesses, play altogether a very subordinate and secondary part in the management of the city affairs. They elect out of their number, along with the burgomaster, some three or more, who form the college of the "magistracy," the members of which college are, like the burgomaster, mostly the paid servants of the state, and act practically as a standing executive committee and "lords of the articles," possessing the initiative in all things, and the exclusive power of decision in matters of importance. The burgomaster is, by the necessity of government confirmation, by the length of his tenure of office, by the influence of his state-paid salary and prospective pension, in all points more an organ of government than a representative of the burgesses. To

him, therefore, the government consistently commits the most extraordinary powers; as for instance, in the § 108, 6. of the art. where we read "the burgomaster may, on his own responsibility, suspend any resolution of the magistracy that he may deem illegal or pernicious, and report to the government thereupon." By § 109 we learn also that, except in some few towns where there is a special board of police, the first magistrate is *ex officio* "head of the police, and, in this capacity, dependent altogether not on the burgesses, but exclusively on the government." This is perfectly consistent, and of a piece with the whole administrative organization of Prussia; an organization in which we behold the most thorough carrying out of the principles of absolute monarchy among a civilized people that the present system of Europe presents. Let it be studied, acknowledged, and by the lovers of absolutism admired as such; but let us hear no more of liberal principles, and popular control, and public opinion, and dangerous democracy in connection with Prussia. The German people are, in fact, the least democratic of all European people; they are sober, steady, rational, and systematic; but they stand in need of a political education, they require to be trained to public business, and to be taught like children the art of standing on their own legs. This grand business, the education of a long degraded people to self-activity and self-respect, was begun hopefully by Stein in 1808, and is still the formula—though, alas! but the formula!—to which Prussia publicly swears. It is time, however, now to throw off the mask, and be honest; all the world has seen, from the active part taken by Prussia in 1832, towards the suppression of the political liberties of the south-western states of Germany, that Berlin liberalism means the liberalism of Vienna, nothing else; and plain people do not understand the transcendental principle of political pedagogy, according to which a lad with weak hams is taught to march by cutting off one of his legs and giving him a crutch.

So much for the popular principles which limit, or have been held forth as limiting, the absoluteness of monarchical power in Prussia. The states are nothing; the nobility is nothing; the church is nothing; the municipal corporations are nothing; the only power which we have been able to recognize as strongly tempering the despotic principle in that country is the might of intelligence, and the vigour of free thought in the Protestant universities. We are now arrived at that point where we may see plainly what the real governing power is in Prussia, and how grandly and freely it can exert itself in all directions. This power lies, as in so absolute a monarchy it must lie, in two gigantic incarnations or organs of the royal omnipotence; the

bureaucracy, which is the heart-blood and the brain of the supreme power; the standing army and the police, which are both bone and muscle. These things are the sole government in Prussia; and a fearful might they are. Consider, in the first place, the bureaucracy; this is exactly to the King of Prussia what the Jesuits in the 16th century were to the Roman Pope—a closely-banded, widely-extended, keenly-watching, deeply-scheming army of intelligence. The Jesuits were intelligent—therein lay their power: the Prussian bureaucracy (thanks to Protestantism and the universities) is intelligent—therein also, and therein only, is its power. The Jesuits were dishonest—therein lay their weakness, thereby came their fall. If the Prussian bureaucracy is destined to fall, their want of honesty, manifested in a hollow play with liberal phrases, will not be the least potent energy that works their ruin. Meanwhile, however, all looks marvellously fair; and as there is no church even now better organized externally than the Romish, so there is no government which, by virtue of an all-insinuating bureaucracy,\* is more complete in its machinery and more strong physically in its frame-work than the Prussian. We may say of these eight strangely aggregated provinces, indeed, adapting a Shakspearian phrase, that they are almost damned in a good government. Everything is done for them so well and so completely that they never dream of doing anything for themselves. They are ridden about in coaches till they forget that walking is the most natural, the most pleasant, and the most healthy of all exercises; while we, with our political meetings and public dinners, and continual actings and agitations, by virtue of which a single act of parliament gives the most profitable employment to thousands of brains for two or three years (sometimes two or three score), are constrained to wonder how the good people in Berlin and Königsberg “get through the twelve hours.” But in Germany they feel otherwise on this head. What with Kant and Hegel, and the last new opera, and the last lucubrations of Henry Heine on Ludwig Börne, another puff of the Knaster, and another swig of Stettiner, they have quite enough to do; and their marvel only is how we English, with governing elements so weak, and elements to be governed so wild, contrive to exist politically at all. Our bureaucracy in Britain, say they, is a thing scattered about in boards and commissions, without order or system, awake to-day and asleep to-morrow; and even when it has any proper organization, effecting nothing great, from the malignant pricking of opposition, and the distracting clamour of party strife by which it is harassed. Is it

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\* What Hansemann calls “die Eindringung des Beamten-elements.”



not ludicrous, they urge, to see that which should be a steady, stable, and permanent force, pattering here and there behind bushes like detachments of volunteer riflemen, throwing squibs and crackers about like idle and mischievous boys, while not a hand will move in earnest to bore the hard granite of some new social foundation, or sweep away the heaped rubbish of ancient abuse? Look again at our Prussian government, and see how regularly, how systematically, how scientifically every minute as well as mighty interest is ordered and arranged! Our bureaucrats are no political adventurers, no bold bungling dilettantes in the most serious of all arts, the art of legislating—they are scientific men, trained from their youthful years to know and to apply the most difficult of all knowledge. Our bureaucracy in Prussia is like a well-rigged ship with a favourable gale, with top-gallants and studding-sails, and flying jibs grandly belled, and where all the crew are regular-bred sailors, and no freshmen. The passengers, that is the people, keep quietly below, especially in rough weather; for, coming up, they do but create confusion and assist the storm, as French and English revolutionary histories abundantly testify. Such is the true Prussian theory of government; such are the ideas of many, perhaps, of the majority of political thinkers in and about Berlin.

“Let others chase phantoms which they cannot reach,” said the President of the Brandenburg Provincial States, in 1831, “WE HAVE OUR CONSTITUTION.” We are perfectly contented with the system as it is, that the government should be everything and the people nothing; we consider self-government in the social state as a delusion and a lie; having such a father as Frederick William, may he never see majority. And indeed it is not to be denied, that to all people, and to easy idle people especially, there is a great comfort in being provided for; besides the consideration, which English thinkers are apt to overlook, that the Prussian bureaucracy is to the Prussian people a sort of Parliament and House of Commons; a most democratic thing in fact (speaking with De Tocqueville) where the lowest may rise highest, and where, within certain impassable limits, there is the most free and fair field for every sort of talent. This, indeed, is a favourite theme with the laudators of Prussian despotism. His Majesty of Berlin certainly is a most impartial rewarder of merit and promoter of talent; and may indeed reasonably be so; not because he is remarkably generous, and above all party, but because there is only one party in the state, the other party being *de jure*, by the first principle of the government, put beyond the pale of society, and *de facto*, when it might exist, having been rudely quashed or violently expelled. It is

exactly the case of the Romish church, with which we are anxious throughout to compare the Prussian monarchy, for this is in secular government precisely what that is in ecclesiastical, with the one exception, that the influence of the aristocracy, or high clergy, in the Romish church, is strong, whereas the Prussian aristocracy merely seem to fill up the scene, like the gay and gilded supernumeraries in plays of spectacle. Nevertheless, the parallel holds practically in the matter of preferment; we see the poorest monks raised to the Popedom; and the Prussian bureaucracy, from the "high ministry" of the different departments of public business in Berlin, to the lowest clerk of a Landrath in the provincial "circles," is an essentially popular thing. We see the same phenomenon in Russia, and in all despotisms. It is their strong point: that by which they stand; whereas, in most constitutional countries, as in Hungary and Great Britain, aristocracy is strong—strong to conserve and to defend, but strong also to obstruct and to prevent. In the Prussian bureaucracy the intelligence of the people is represented; in the multifarious state offices, metropolitan and provincial, the Demos appears—only tame; the famous renower of Halle and Jena, at the first sight of red tape, cuts his long hair and his lofty speculations short with a single snip—having this comfort, that if he will wait patiently, and watch the occasion, and wear golden chains, and wink with eyes that see and see not now, he may, on some future occasion, be honoured by Providence to become a Stein and a Hardenberg in his way. Thus the Prussian universally, by force of circumstances, holds Canning's doctrine, that no man can serve his country except in office; and a long training of strict subordination and absolute dependence is the tax which he pays for the possibility of wielding a might in the supreme council of state, in respect of which, for good as for evil, the influence possessed by the greatest minister England ever had is a mere bagatelle. And that the Prussian bureaucracy is for the general a benignant as well as an intelligent power, no one can deny. That men scientifically trained to government as a profession will govern better in many things than the sort of amateur and voluntary governors who lead half, and half are led in England and America, seems equally clear. They assure us that out of every 4,000*l.* borrowed for public purposes by the American States, 3,000*l.* are misspent and utterly wasted. Such blind work will seldom be made in Prussia. But for this grand privilege of being governed by a scientific bureaucracy the Prussians make a sad sacrifice; they sacrifice the independence, the energy, the enterprise, of the great mass of the people. The governors govern well, but the governed, by overmuch cherishing, are made weak; they are mere clods; political nullities; children certainly in every sense,

for that the paternal system implies; and they pay heavy taxes also, that no man may be allowed to walk without a drill-serjeant at his side, nor to be hungry save when the state-doctor commands.

Nothing can be more beautiful than the systematic completeness of the administrative machinery of Prussia. First, as supreme deliberative board, there is the council of state, consisting of the ministers of the different branches of the government, the crown prince, the field-m Marshals, privy-cabinet councillors, supreme judges, master of the post, and some others—the *élite* of the bureaucracy and the army. Then there is the supreme executive board, the ministry of state, composed of the usual members of whom ministries are composed in all the civilized countries of Europe; more complete, however, in some important branches than our English ministry, and in these branches more fitly to be compared to France, where the same system of centralization prevails. There is, for instance, a minister of justice, and a minister of educational, medicinal, and ecclesiastical affairs—supreme supervisor of soul and body, the real, corporeal, and spiritual Pope of Prussia. There is no prime minister, no Metternich; a singular thing; but every minister is supreme in his own department, communicating directly with the king, and limited only by the necessity of consulting with the council of state in introducing new measures of general importance to the central administration in Berlin; but as Prussia is an aggregation of the most unlike parts, there is a necessity for a repetition, so to speak, of the administrative machinery in every one of the eight provinces. Each province has a repetition of majesty in the “High-president,” and a repetition of the ministry of state in the administrative colleges which control the several “governments,” or departments (*regierungsbezirke*) into which the provinces are divided. There are twenty-five such departments in Prussia, each with its administrative college, at the head of which is a president. The members of this college consult together in plenary meetings, and form general resolutions for the administration of the departments by a majority of votes: in the routine of business, however, the principle of the division of labour naturally operates, and the college resolves itself into the separate branches of administration of which the supreme ministry of state which it represents is composed. The departments again are subdivided into circles, of which there are 335 in the whole monarchy; each of these circles is under the superintendence of a Landrath, a person performing pretty much the same functions as the sub-prefect of the *arrondissements* in France. The Landrath is elected nominally by the people; but as these have never been trained to independent political action, and the appointment,

as in the case of the burgomasters, requires the royal confirmation, this lowest official, the Landrath, is as completely an instrument in the hand of government as any director of police in Prussia. We do not possess a complete list of all the placemen in the monarchy; but if the reader will consider that Prussia is a poor country, counting by dollars where we count by pounds, and numbering only 13,000,000 inhabitants, he will see at once that this system of governing by provinces and colleges must create and maintain a most expensive and a most influential bureaucracy. The principle being, as we have stated, that the people shall be allowed to do nothing for themselves, it follows as a necessary consequence, that a vast multitude of men must be paid at the public expense for doing that which in other countries nature is allowed to do spontaneously, as the rain falls and the wind blows. It follows also, what Hanseemann has sufficiently proved by a detailed comparison with France—that the Prussian government, if it be the best and the most enlightened in Europe—according to the so frequent boast—is also the most constrained, the most cumbrous, and the most burdensome; and it follows further, that in no country, notwithstanding the parade of popular forms, is self-government less practised than in Prussia, is spontaneity and nature in public life more utterly strange; in no country of equal civilization is the political mind of the many less ripe at the present moment, more to be dreaded when the urgency of some unforeseen necessity, and the pain of long-subdued constraint, shall teach it to exert its untutored energies.

On the military power of Prussia our limits do not permit us to enlarge. The amount of the army is stated by Zedlitz\* as follows:—

Standing army . . . . .	121,916
War reserve, and militia of the first summons . . . . .	230,000
Militia of the second summons . . . . .	180,000
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	531,916

Along with which we may take the statement of Hanseemann, that in the standing army and the war reserve there are in service, of the male population, from 20 to 25 years of age, about 40 per cent.; in the militia, of the male population, from 26 to 39 years, about 56 per cent. This is a genuine arming of the whole people, and is an institution that has been often and prominently brought forward by the laudators of Prussian liberty. There can be no doubt that an army of this sort is a very different thing from the band of hirelings by whose aid the great Elector, in the 17th century, annihilated the liberties of the East Prussian States; but in praising such an institution as this we

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\* Staatskräfte der Preussischen Monarchie, iii, Band. p. 36. 1830.

must bear in mind, in the first place, that it impoverishes and oppresses the country fearfully; and that, taken in connexion with the submission and servility which the bureaucratic supremacy everywhere brings along with it, the military drilling of the whole people at stated periods, has a much more powerful influence in keeping down than in raising the spirit of freedom. We must bear in mind also, that the numerous regular army of Prussia is always ready and immediately effective: the militia requires to be called out. The immense machinery of soldiership which so poor a country maintains, if it be a security, is a hard one.\* The only good it can effect is to ensure the peace of Europe by presenting a close-serried square of nationality to the conquering mania which still seems to possess restless France; as a base of liberal institutions, as a guarantee of popular freedom, it is altogether naught. As a legacy, however, of the ever-memorable days that followed the battle of Jena, it may in the extreme distance act as a check on the wantonness of pure absolutism; teaching habitually, by its mere existence, a lesson which the Prussian government in its present temper can only imperfectly understand, that a battle, to be well fought, must be fought by a nation for national ends; and that the real strength of a standing army consists not in the number of its guns and bayonets, but in the popular sympathies which it shares, and the popular enthusiasm by which it is inspired.

Of the police, the third great governing power in Prussia, we shall say nothing. To understand that properly an Englishman must feel it. Touching its operation on the department of the post-office, Dr Kombst (*Deutscher Bundestag*, p. 61,) mentions some very characteristic details which are not to be found in the 'Conversations Lexicon,' *voce* NAGLER.

There remain yet two very important matters, and very characteristic of the Prussian system, concerning which, since we have said so much, it would be unpardonable not to say a little. We mean, the administration of justice and the matter of taxation.

The criminal procedure of a country is, as a test of civic liberty, the most speaking thing in it; and accordingly we find in Prussia, where no civic liberty exists, a system of judicial machinery in criminal matters so thoroughly autocratic in principle and practice, that the free-born Englishman recoils from it suddenly with a mixed instinct of aversion and incredulity. The characteristic feature of the Prussian code of criminal procedure, as delineated at considerable length by Herr Venedey, himself a Rhenish

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\* According to newspaper reports (which in Germany it is well known originate with government to serve certain purposes) the present king intends to make a considerable reduction in the standing army, with a view to lessen the public expenditure of the military department, which in Prussia amounts nearly to half the whole revenue.

lawyer, and in this matter worthy of all credit,\* is this, that there is no separation of the legislative, the executive, and the judicial functions; the king is everywhere, not nominally merely, executor of the law and dispenser of grace, but with active interference and partisanship; the accused is under the strict control of the judge; the judges under the strict control of the minister of justice. Here, if anywhere in the Prussian system, we find the incarnation of the grand Prussian principle, that, except in office, no man is anything, or shall be accounted anything in the state. Hence there is no bar, and, what is the *ne plus ultra* of absolutism, no prosecutor; the bench prosecutes, defends, and pronounces sentence. A sort of defence, indeed, there is, within very narrow limits, and under the continual control and supervision of the judge-prosecutor; but that there is no free and independent defence appears sufficiently from this fact, that there is no order of barristers, no necessity indeed, no possibility for them in the Prussian system of procedure, which they very significantly call, not a trial, but an inquisition. As for juries, we are not to expect for a moment that such a wild old shoot of Teutonic liberty should flourish in a region where the more orderly independence of the lawyer class has ceased to be known. The late conduct of the government with regard to jury-trial in Rhenish Prussia is very characteristic here. The Rhenish Germans, with a heavy property-tax, inherit also, from French dominion, publicity of proceeding in legal matters, trial by jury, and an independent order of barristers. Against these free and French institutions the autocratic jealousy of the Berlin legislators has been constantly directed. Right gladly, if they could, they would root up the whole offence in the sweeping style of tough old Stein; but this, in a new and not over-well affectioned province, were dangerous; therefore they proceed cautiously, and secretly suck the blood of the victim whom they dare not stab. They have passed several statutes, the clear drift of which is to make the jurisprudential privileges of the Rhenish provinces, while they nominally remain, practically inoperative. They have declared that in

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\* We have been scrupulous throughout this article to borrow nothing from Herr Venedey without special mention and acknowledgment, because he is so bitter against Prussia that he is often not a competent, and in all cases a very partial witness. He has one good quality, however; he never deals in vague assertions, but quotes the law book by title and section, which the student can verify at leisure. In all the grand features of the Prussian system, the present writer has been careful to take his facts directly from the 'Land-recht,' which speaks loud enough for itself, without the necessity of a commentary. In the present instance, however, not possessing a copy of the 'Criminal Gerichts Ordnung,' he depends altogether on the accuracy of Herr Venedey. It is but just to mention, at the same time, that in all the main charges which he brings against the Prussian government, this writer is fully borne out by the impartial testimony of the moderate and judicious Hansemann. The defect of his book lies more in rabid one-sidedness of view, than in misrepresentation of fact.

all trials for political offences, the Prussian, not the Rhenish law, shall be the rule, that is to say, that instead of a free jury of his fellow-citizens, the poor Rhenish Liberal "suspected of being suspected," shall be tried by the king himself, through his minister of justice, passing sentence on all crimes committed against himself. Very Prussian! And another trick Herr Venedey also mentions, which we cannot pass. According to the French process the mere formal part of the defence in criminal cases is committed to a person called an *avoué*, while the advocate conducts the material defences in all points of fact and law. The *avoués* rank by the code as state officers, and as such are subordinate to the procurator of state. The advocates, on the other hand, form an independent body, acknowledging a subjection of discipline only to their own freely elected *batonier*. Such an institution, our author truly remarks, is a crying anomaly in Prussia—a thing in no wise to be tolerated. Therefore a law is passed annihilating the independent bar, and elevating the poor privates by an act of special grace into the dignity of public servants or *avoués*. Thus the offence of an order of freemen—a society not under the control and supervision of the state (*supra p.*)—is removed, and the bureaucracy is all in all.

In order to give the reader a clear idea what a cumbrous machinery the pragmatism of the government of Prussia employs to subject the *meum* and *tuum* between man and man, we shall mention two simple statistical facts from the valuable work of Herr Hansemann. The first is, that in the department of Minden, containing a population of only 396,325 souls, there are no less than 336 legal placemen; while in a corresponding district of Rhenish Prussia, where the French law prevails, 154 persons do the same business.\* The other fact is what appears almost incredible, that the judicial establishment of poor Prussia with its 13,000,000 of inhabitants, costs within a few thousand pounds as much as the judicial establishment of France with its 32,000,000, viz., six millions of dollars! *Ex uno disce omnes*. The rage of governing in Berlin is like the rage of fighting in Paris; but a man must pay for his hobby, here or there.

We must not imagine, however, as the tenor of our observations up to this point might lead one to suspect, that every institution is perfectly regular, and of a piece, even in Prussia. It looks indeed like enough, for the most part, as if his Prussian Majesty considered government as a game at chess, and the members of society merely figures to be played

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\* Hansemann, § 241.—We have subtracted the advocates (or attorneys, as we ought rather to translate the German advocate) who are connected with the courts, but form no part of the legal bureaucracy—at least disturb the comparison which the reader will naturally institute here with the Scottish county jurisdictions.

with; Robert Owen, with his social, and the Puseyites with their episcopal parallelograms, seem to have been anticipated in Berlin. But nature will out, and the voluntary principle shows its front sometimes, even in Prussia; whereof we have a most remarkable instance in one of the judicial institutions of Prussia very recently introduced. Not that the people, even in one solitary instance, have been allowed to originate any scheme of reform; everything in Prussia originates with the government; but the scheme that has been set on foot contains the very strange and anti-Prussian principle that the mass of the people may be safely intrusted with the *bona fide* election of certain functionaries, and that these functionaries may safely perform their functions without state-pay and supervision. We allude to the institution of districtal arbiters acting without remuneration (*schiedsrichter*), men unskilled in the technicalities of the law, and untrained to bureaucratic subserviency, natural heads of the people, popularly chosen to perform, by the aid of their own good sense alone, the important office of judging and making peace between man and man. To what wise and liberal head in the department of justice this truly popular measure belongs we do not possess the means of knowing;\* the ordinance establishing the umpires in the province of Prussia is dated 17th September, 1827; and in this province it was found to work so well, that, on the petition of the respective States, it was introduced into Brandenburg and Silesia in 1832, and into Pomerania and Rugen in 1834. The great excellence of this system manifestly is, that where it can be made to work steadily, it acts at once as a cheap and speedy means of adjusting questions of right between plain men on common-sense principles, and as a check on that which is undoubtedly one of the greatest of social evils, the frequency of law-suits. The popular arbiters of Prussia, though they determine differences, and thus practically bring about the result of a law-suit, are preventers of legal strife rather than fosterers; peacemakers, *schiedsrichter*, as the German word significantly expresses, men whose business and whose interest it is to part the parties, not to set them by the ears, a business and duty which (unlike professional lawyers) they have every motive and interest substantially to perform. To a rational, peaceable people, like the Germans, such an institution seems peculiarly appropriate, and we rejoice heartily at the success of so notable an experiment. We shall be glad to hear that the future fruits answer the present promise; meanwhile, we must content ourselves with referring those more immediately interested in the

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\* Since writing the above we have been informed by an intelligent Prussian that the author of this measure was Count Danckelmann, in the year 1827, Minister of Justice in Prussia.



matter for further details to the sources of our own information.\*

We conclude with the matter of taxation. This Herr Hanse-  
mann has handled in a most able and thorough style, and the  
results which he brings out are exactly such as might have been  
expected. In the outset it is characteristic that the actual  
burdens borne by the Prussian people, according to this author's  
minute and searching calculations, amount to not less than twenty-  
six millions of dollars more than the lump official statement  
which goes current in the common statistical works, being  
77 millions *rx.* according to the one statement, and 51 millions  
according to the other. In estimating the proportionate  
amount of taxation which Prussia bears, Herr Hanse-  
mann has very properly chosen France as the fittest contrast, both these  
countries having been revolutionized on the same principles, and  
presenting the same preponderance of agricultural over city popu-  
lation. The result is, that Prussia, in almost every branch of  
public income, is taxed much more heavily than France, and  
that in the Rhenish provinces particularly the public burdens  
have waxed enormously since they were committed to the  
paternal sway of Prussia. It is indeed the necessary result of  
the principle of governing so much beyond what is necessary,  
that much more than is necessary must be paid. Prussia is a  
heavily taxed country, and must be so, while the present prag-  
matical mania continues. It is a great mistake also to sup-  
pose, as some English writers seem to take for granted, that the  
taxes in Prussia are imposed on a more equal and just prin-  
ciple than among ourselves. In such a country as Prussia, a  
property-tax must always form a considerable item; but it is  
small in proportion to the magnitude of the agricultural interests,  
amounting only to eleven millions out of the seventy-seven. The  
fact is, that notwithstanding the liberal and equal principles of  
taxation announced by Stein in 1811, a considerable proportion  
of the landed property in Brandenburg, Saxony, and other parts  
of Prussia still remains exempt from public burdens; the revolu-  
tion has not not been allowed to do its perfect work; a remnant  
of privileged nobility still remains in respectable lustilood. On  
the other hand, to keep up the cumbrous machinery of superero-  
gatory administration, a head tax and a flesh tax have been  
imposed, which are complained of as pressing only and severely  
on the poorest classes, not to mention trade patents, income tax,  
and others, which, either in their own nature, or according to the  
scale by which they are adjusted, press more heavily on the lower  
orders. Besides these personal inequalities, there are local ine-

\* 'Allgemeine Gerichts Ordnung für die Preussischen Staaten.' (Law of Civil Procedure for the Prussian States). Von A. T. Mannkoff. Berlin, 1837. Th. I, Tit. 2, ed. § 176.

qualities of the most glaring kind particularly affecting Rhenish Prussia, which province the Berliners teach to bear all the burdens, as Ireland to us was long only a footstool. The property tax in Berlin, for instance, is only four per cent. of the net rental; in the Rhine provinces it is twenty-one per cent.! No wonder that there are murmurs in that region, making themselves audible even within the ear-circuit of a Prussian police. Altogether, the taxation seems one of the most awkward things about the Prussian system; as the tailor's bill of a man of fashion, who will have a new suit every month, is not the most pleasant page in his diary.

We have said nothing in the above observations of the increasing prosperity of Prussian manufactures, because there is nothing particular either in Berlin iron or Elberfeld cloth by which the character of the Prussian despotism may be determined. All despotisms agree in this, that they incline to cherish and to protect on the one side the merely material, on the other the merely ornamental interests of humanity; and it were a strange thing indeed if Prussia, an intelligent and a rising country, during twenty-five years of peace, should not have made one or two points in the matter of mechanical dexterity sufficient to throw into a commercial fever some foolish wits who had vainly dreamt of a sempiternal British monopoly in this department. We have purposely abstained also from saying anything about the famous commercial league which has made so much noise lately. This is a matter affecting more the balance of power among the States of the German Confederation than the internal administration of Prussia. It is notable, however, as a public European proof of the intelligence, dexterity, and perseverance of the Prussian bureaucracy. It has also had a tendency to regain to Prussia some portion of that German sympathy which her servile attachment to Austrian absolutism has hitherto withheld. A commercial freedom and a commercial unity are at least, when realized, one approach to that grand ideal of "Fatherland" for which the patriots of 1813 drew the sword. Whether that ideal ever shall walk forth in complete embodiment God only knows; but a strong Prussia, as the wise men at Vienna in 1815 knew partly, and might have known wholly, is the first and indispensable postulate of a strong Germany.

It is possible, we may remark, in concluding, that the Prussian system may appear to many in the present paper represented under a very one-sided and partial aspect. We confess honestly that we had no intention to exhibit in strong relief the favourable side of the Prussian system. This has been done already by various parties, both in England and on the continent; to do it again here were *actum agere*, and altogether out of season. We have not the least intention, however, to deny in any point the general excellence of the Prussian government; we admire it

rather in a way as we admire a well-formed crystal; it has a mathematical beauty beyond the vulgar. It possesses in an eminent degree all the excellencies which a highly civilized and thoroughly defeudalized despotism can possess; but it possesses also, in full measure, all the deformities which are wont to cling to despotism as bigotry does to a churchman. 'Tis a perfect "paradise of beauty and delight," politically, we are assured; but as in many a political paradise beyond the seas, which interested jobbers have beslobbered with deceitful praise, there are sad lacks behind unmentioned, and not a few torments. There is a grand artificial architecture; no fine natural vegetation. There is a bland and benign atmosphere of paternity, but mosquitos swarm there plentifully and bite assiduously—a hundred-handed bureaucracy that ever intermeddles, and a hundred-eyed police that never intermits. Against this our British instinct rebels.

J. S. B.

\* \* This is a subject to which we must endeavour to return, when an opportunity occurs for instituting a comparison between the actual working of a Prussian and English government, in the details of administration. We suspect that in many things the comparison would not be favourable to this country. We doubt, for example, whether in any branch of Prussian administration there would be found such extravagant and costly abuses and local jobbing as have long been permitted to flourish, almost unheeded, in the Corporation of London. An intelligent Prussian once said to us, "Of what avail is it that your constitutional theory is more perfect, if your practical checks are not better than ours? Honestly, I would not exchange the system by which in Prussia we fill up all appointments, at least with educated men, for the demoralizing practices encouraged at your last general election in the name of representation." He denied, further, that the English system was one of less centralization than the Prussian;—the House of Commons engrossing all the local business of the country, so that a bridge, he observed, could not be built, or a road made, without an express act of Parliament. On the subject of imprisonment for political offences, he assured us that for some years there had been fewer persons imprisoned at Spandau for offences of that class, than we had at the present moment, either in our gaols or penal colonies, for the Chartist riots at Bristol, Newport, and Birmingham. It had been otherwise, but never worse, in Prussia than in England under Lord Castlereagh.

We were glad to learn, in our last trip up the Rhine, that Arndt has received pecuniary compensation for his losses from the present King, and has been made Rector of the University of Bonn. It is more generally known that other celebrated men of letters have been invited to Berlin. The present King has also to a considerable extent relieved the press from its shackles;—newspapers are now allowed to publish the discussions of the Provincial Diets, including even the discussions which have taken place upon the propriety of petitioning for a Constitution. We think there is some probability that a legisla-

tive assembly will ultimately be formed, consisting of deputies from the Provincial Diets. The present King has, however, some unfavourable points of character: his ideas belong too much to the middle ages. His great object is to strengthen the aristocracy, by restoring the law of primogeniture in those States where it has been abolished. One of his projects is to found an university exclusively for the sons of the nobility. In a recent case of murder he allowed the barbarous punishment of breaking on the wheel to be carried into effect, although it had remained for a century a dead letter in the statute book. It is fortunate for Prussia that the intelligent men, who form what in the preceding article is styled "the beaurocracy," possess sufficient power to prevent the King having entirely his own way. Without copying its faults, we think many useful hints might be taken from the Prussian system for adoption in this country, where the principle of the division of labour has never been understood by Government.—ED.

ART. VII.—CABINET CHANGES.—(1754 to 1841.)—*A brief retrospect of the state of Parties since the accession of George III, may be useful on the eve of another Session; we propose, therefore, to devote a few pages to the various changes of Cabinets during the last ninety years, confining ourselves to a summary of the facts.*

WHEN George III came to the throne, he found a powerful and respectable ministry. The Duke of Newcastle was First Lord of the Treasury, but Mr Pitt was the virtual leader. This administration was formed on the death of Mr Pelham, in 1754.

The Duke of Newcastle retired in November, 1756, making way for the Duke of Devonshire as Premier, and Mr Pitt as Secretary of State. George III's dislike of Mr Pitt produced that minister's dismissal in April in the following year (1757), but the Cabinet could not stand against his opposition and popularity.

In June (1757) the Duke of Newcastle was again Premier, and Mr Pitt, as the phrase went at the time, took the Cabinet by storm, and made himself Secretary of State.

In 1760 this arrangement was in full force. Mr Legge was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Earl Grenville, President of the Council; Duke of Devonshire, Lord Chamberlain; Earl Temple, a Cabinet Minister; Lord Northington, Lord Chancellor; and Lord Anson at the Admiralty.

The first change was made in March, 1761, by the substitution of Lord Bute for Lord Holderness as Secretary of State; this was the commencement of the "King's party," as it was afterwards called.

• In September (1761) Mr Pitt proposed in Council to declare war against Spain; and, with Lord Temple, committed his advice to writing. The Council rejected the proposition. Mr Pitt and Lord Temple, in consequence, resigned on the 5th of October.

In May (1762) the Duke of Newcastle went out of office, and was succeeded by Lord Bute.

In October in the same year, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord George Grenville, and Lord Besborough seceded from Lord Bute's government. The peace with France and Spain very much weakened the Cabinet; and the Cider Tax, although carried in the Commons through six divisions, and in the Lords by eighty-three to forty-nine, was odious to the nation. Lord Bute resigned in consequence in April, 1763, and was replaced by Mr George Grenville.

An unsuccessful overture was made to Mr Pitt in the August ensuing.

In September the Bedford-Grenville ministry was formed.

This ministry fell to pieces in May, 1765, and after a long negotiation with Mr Pitt, which terminated abruptly, Lord Rockingham and the Whigs came into office, 10th July, 1765.

They were ungraciously dismissed 30th July, 1766.

The Duke of Grafton as Premier, Charles Townshend as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Camden as Lord Chancellor, and Mr Pitt (who was created Earl of Chatham) as Lord Privy Seal, succeeded.

Mr Charles Townshend died the 4th of September, 1767, and was succeeded by Lord North as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Lord Chatham's illness occasioned the remodelling of the Cabinet in January, 1768, when the Duke of Grafton's administration commenced.

Lord Chatham himself resigned the Privy Seal on the 15th of October (1768). At the meeting of Parliament on the 9th of January, 1770, he opposed the Address, but his amendment was negatived without a division. A similar amendment by Mr Dowdeswell, in the Commons, was lost by 254 to 138.

The Duke of Grafton did not think it prudent to encounter the strong opposition now organized against him; Lord North consequently became First Lord of the Treasury on the 28th of January, 1770.

Lord North's government remained unshaken till the autumn of 1781. On the 12th of December (1781), Sir John Lowther's motion against the colonial war was lost by 220 against 179, giving Ministers a majority of only forty-one.

On the 23rd of February, 1782, General Conway's motion for an address to the King, to procure a peace, was lost by 194 to 193; and on the 27th of the same month, a motion, condemnatory of the ministerial policy regarding America, was carried by

234 to 215. On the 19th of March, Lord North announced the dissolution of his Cabinet.

At the end of the month the Marquis of Rockingham's ministry was formed.

On the death of that nobleman (1st of July, 1782), Lord Shelburne became First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr Pitt Chancellor of the Exchequer, vice Lord John Cavendish, who, with Mr Fox and several other leading Whigs, declined office.

On the 23rd of January, 1783, at half-past seven o'clock in the morning, two amendments to the address on the treaty of peace were carried against ministers by 224 to 208. This was the first "*achievement*" of the coalition between the Fox and North parties. On the 21st of February, a series of resolutions, moved by Lord John Cavendish, censuring the government for the manner in which the peace had been concluded, were carried by 207 to 190; next day Lord Shelburne resigned.

On the 2nd of April (1783), the Duke of Portland's administration, including Mr Fox, Lord North, Lord John Cavendish, &c., was completed.

Mr Fox introduced his famous bill for vesting the government of India in seven commissioners, to be *nominated* by Parliament, on the 18th of November (1783); the second reading was carried in the Commons, by 217 to 103, on the 7th of December; but the Lords *rejected* the entire measure on the 17th, by 95 to 76.

On the 11th, Earl Temple, in an audience with the King, explained the tendency of the bill, and was authorized to state that his Majesty considered it highly impolitic and dangerous; on the 18th the ministers were commanded to resign the seals of their respective offices; and a few days afterwards Mr Pitt, as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, formed his administration.

As is well known, his government was severely censured by several majorities of the Commons, until the dissolution of Parliament 24th of March, 1784.

About 1800, a difference between the King and Mr Pitt, and several other principal members of the Cabinet, arose on the question of the Catholic claims; it was understood that the Irish Union had been partly carried in consequence of a pledge from Mr Pitt in favour of the Catholics.

In March, 1801, Mr Addington succeeded Mr Pitt at the Treasury and the Exchequer, and formed the "Addington administration."

At the commencement of 1804, the ministry were evidently tottering; Mr Fox's motion on national defence, on the 23rd of April, was lost by only 52 votes—256 to 204; and a motion

made by Mr York, Secretary of State, on the 28th, relative to the army, was carried by only 240 to 203.

Mr Addington resigned on the 30th, and Mr Pitt received unlimited powers to form a new Cabinet, the Catholic question and the introduction of Mr Fox alone excepted.

Mr Pitt's death, on the 23rd of June, 1806, introduced Lord Grenville, Mr Fox, and the Whigs.

Mr Fox died on the 13th of September in the same year, but his party struggled on till March, 1807, when a difference with the King on the Catholic disabilities caused their dismissal.

The Duke of Portland succeeded as the ostensible head of the Cabinet, but Mr Percival, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was the virtual leader.

Mr Percival found himself compelled to strengthen his government in September, 1809, and, among other changes, added the Premiership to the office he already held; the Cabinet was now spoken of as the "Percival administration."

On the assassination of Mr Percival on the 11th of May, 1812, after an unsuccessful negotiation with Lords Grey and Grenville, as the leaders of the Whig party, Lord Liverpool was placed at the head of the Cabinet, and commenced that career of power which was only terminated by his fatal illness in 1827.

Mr Canning was sent for by the King on the 28th of March, 1827, and commissioned to form a Cabinet. After much negotiation, and many difficulties, the Canning administration was Gazetted on the 27th of April (1827).

On the 8th of August Mr Canning died, and Lord Goderich succeeded him as First Lord of the Treasury, and Mr Herries as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The appointment of Mr Herries is supposed to have precipitated the fate of Lord Goderich's government.

On the 11th of January, 1828, the Duke of Wellington was Prime Minister. The death of George IV (25th of June, 1830), and the subsequent elections, very much weakened the ministry. Sir Henry Parnell's motion for a committee on the civil list was carried by 233 to 204 on the 15th of November, 1830; and next day the dissolution of the Cabinet was announced in both Houses.

The accession of Earl Grey and the Reformers immediately followed.

It is not necessary to narrate the temporary ministerial changes which took place before June, 1834; a difference in the Cabinet about that time led to the resignation of Earl Grey, and the nomination of Lord Melbourne as his successor.

Towards the end of the year (10th of November, 1834), Earl Spencer's death occasioned the removal of Lord Althorp to the

House of Lords. The King, on the 14th, intimated to the Premier that he considered the Cabinet dissolved.

Sir Robert Peel came into office on the 9th of December, but was defeated on the first day of the House meeting, February the 19th, 1835; Mr Abercromby being elected Speaker by 316 to 306. On the 4th of April, Lord John Russell's resolution regarding the Irish Church, was carried by 329 to 289. On the 6th the Appropriation Clause, moved by Lord John, was carried by 262 to 237; and on the 7th, a second resolution, affirming the appropriation principle, was carried by 285 to 258.

On the 8th of April Sir Robert Peel resigned, and Lord Melbourne was again at the head of the Treasury.

On the 9th of April, 1839, Mr Labouchere introduced a bill for suspending the Constitution of the island of Jamaica; the second reading was allowed to pass *pro forma*, but on the motion that the Speaker do now leave the chair, a long and warm debate arose, which terminated (6th of May) in a division of 294 to 289 in favour of the motion, giving the ministers a narrow majority of five. Next day they announced their resignation.

Sir Robert Peel attempted to form a Cabinet, but failed in consequence, partly, of a difference with the Queen on the subject of the appointments of the Ladies of the Household. Lord Melbourne was recalled, and both parties explained in Parliament on the 13th (May).

On the 30th of April, 1841, the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr Baring) opened his budget for the year; he pointed out the deficiency in the revenue, and proposed to act to some extent upon free-trade principles, by reducing the duties on corn, sugar, and timber. On the 7th of May, Lord John Russell moved the adoption of the budget proposition relative to the sugar duties; Lord Sandon moved an amendment to the effect that, under existing circumstances, no alteration was required: after eight nights' debate, the House divided on the 17th, and carried the amendment by 317 to 281; majority against ministers, 36.

On the 27th May, Sir Robert Peel moved a direct vote of Want of Confidence in the existing government. On the 4th of June, after five nights' debate, it was carried by 312 to 311.

The Cabinet thought proper to appeal from the House of Commons to the nation, and dissolved Parliament as soon as the public business would permit (22nd of June).

The new Parliament assembled on the 19th of August; on the 24th, Mr S. Wortley moved an amendment to the Address, expressing want of confidence in the present ministers of the Crown; the House divided on the 27th:—360 to 269 in favour of the amendment; majority against ministers, 91.



A similar amendment, moved by the Earl of Ripon, had been carried in the House of Lords on the 24th, by 168 to 96; majority against ministers, 72.

On the 30th, Lord John Russell in the Commons, and Lord Melbourne in the Lords, announced the dissolution of the Whig government.

Sir Robert Peel was commissioned to form a new Cabinet with all convenient dispatch: in the beginning of September all the appointments were completed.\*

\* We subjoin the following notes to the above :—

#### SECRETARIES OF STATE.

Before the end of the reign of Henry VIII, there was only one Secretary of State; the number was then increased to two. At the union with Scotland, a third secretaryship was created for "Scotch Affairs." It continued from 1708, when it was held by the Duke of Queensbury, to January, 1746, when it was resigned by the Marquis of Tweeddale. From that time to 1768 there were "Two Principal Secretaries of State." In 1768, in consequence of the increase of business from the American colonies, a "Secretary of State for the Colonies" was appointed in the person of Lord Hillsborough. This office continued until 1782, when, together with several others, it was abolished by Mr Burke's bill (22 Geo. 3, cap. 82); Mr Welbore Ellis was the occupant at that time. From about 1789 the two Secretaries began to be distinguished as "Home" and "Foreign." In 1794, the war occasioned the appointment of Mr Henry Dundas (Lord Melville) as "Secretary of State for War." In 1801, the business connected with the colonies was transferred to the Secretary at War, who was then called "Secretary of State for War and Colonies." In 1816 (3rd of April), a motion was made by Mr Tierney to abolish the third secretaryship, because the war which occasioned its creation was at an end; the motion was resisted by government, on the ground that the importance of the colonies was such as to require a minister for their especial superintendence: Mr Tierney's motion was lost by 182 to 100. The "two principal Secretaries" were sometimes distinguished as acting for the "northern" and "southern departments;" the northern department comprehended Germany and the north of Europe, &c.; the southern, France and the rest of the Continent not included in the former office, &c.

#### PARLIAMENTS.

##### OPENED.

19 May . . . . .	1761	18 May . . . . .	1784
10 " . . . . .	1768	25 November . . . . .	1790
29 November . . . . .	1774	12 July . . . . .	1796
31 October . . . . .	1780		

##### *First Imperial Parliament.*

31 August . . . . .	1802	23 April . . . . .	1820
25 November . . . . .	1806	14 November . . . . .	1826
27 " . . . . .	1807	26 October . . . . .	1830
24 " . . . . .	1812	14 June . . . . .	1831
4 August . . . . .	1818		

##### *First Reformed Parliament.*

29 January . . . . .	1833	29 August . . . . .	1837
29 February . . . . .	1835	19 August . . . . .	1841

ART. VIII.—*History of the Great Reformation of the Sixteenth Century in Germany, Switzerland, &c.* By J. H. Merlé D'Aubigné, President of the Theological School of Geneva, &c. 3 vols. D. Walther, Piccadilly. 1841.

THE 'History of the Reformation' is well adapted to serve two important objects. Being a history of opinions, it exhibits to the student the mental operations of human beings, while at the same time it enables him to estimate the value of opinions in their influence on society.

The author takes a proper and Catholic view of this important portion of our world's annals. "The History of the Reformation," he observes, "is wholly distinct from the history of Protestantism. In the former, all bears the character of a regeneration of human nature,—a religious and social transformation emanating from God himself. In the latter we see too often a glaring depravation of first principles—the conflict of parties—a sectarian spirit,—and the operation of private interests. The history of Protestantism might claim the attention of Protestants. 'The History of the Reformation' is a book for all Christians, or rather for all mankind."

The present work opens with a rapid sketch of the corruptions which had crept into the Church, and the state of Christianity at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as exhibited in the lives of the principal actors in the drama.

The Church was in the beginning a simple community of brethren; but a power soon arose, and gradually extended itself, not only alien, but hostile to the simplicity of the gospel.

The Bishop of Rome, surrounded by the prestige that for ages had hallowed the political and military power of the seven-hilled city, formed the ambitious project of rendering the authority of the Romish Church the universal law throughout Christendom.

The Bishops of the West favoured this encroachment, either through jealousy of their Eastern brethren, or because they preferred to bend before a spiritual rather than a temporal power; whilst each of the various theological sects which distracted the East strove to conciliate the Roman Pontiff, in the hope, by his aid, of triumphing over its opponents.

The doctrine of the visible unity of the Church, led to the notion that some outward representative of that unity was needful. A primacy of St Peter was invented, and men pro-

ceeded to acknowledge in that Apostle, and in his pretended successor, the head of the whole Church.

The constitution of the Patriarchate tended still farther to the exaltation of the Papacy. Rome at first shared the rank of Patriarchate with Alexandria and Antioch; but when the invasion of Mahomet swept away the Bishopricks of Alexandria and Antioch, when that of Constantinople separated itself from the West, Rome remained without a rival. Ignorance and superstition took possession of the Church, and delivered it up to Rome blindfold and manacled.

From this period the power of the Hierarchy in the ascending scale, and the rapid declension of the Imperial power, accelerated their twofold destiny. The irruption of the northern barbarians, who, in the end, bowed the knee to the Roman Pontiff, forms another step in the usurpation of the Papacy. Leo III, in 800, placed the crown of the Roman emperors on the brow of the grandson of Pepin, and from the period of this union with the Franks his connexion with the East terminated. The disunion that weakened the civil power on the demise of Charlemagne,\* was embraced by Rome as a means of still further exalting the power and securing the independence of the Pope. The *famous decretals* imputed to Isidorus appeared, and as early as 865, Nicholas I was not ashamed to avail himself of this hierarchical arsenal for weapons to attack princes and bishops. But the disgraceful and scandalous profligacy of the Papacy suspended for a time the object of the decretals. The Emperor of Germany, aroused to indignation by the enormities of the Papacy, at length purified Rome by the sword, and in 1047 a German bishop, Leo IX, possessed himself of the pontifical throne. Four Popes, all Germans, and chosen by the Emperor, succeeded; but the power thus acquired was soon directed against the Emperor himself. The Papacy arose from its humility, and trampled under foot the princes of the earth. In the monk Hildebrand, the *protégé* of Leo IX, who reigned under the name of Gregory VII, we behold the Roman Pontificate in its strength and its glory.

His legates passed through the provinces depriving the pastors of their legal partners, and everywhere exciting the popu-

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\* Charlemagne ranks high as a warrior, and the Church bestowed on him the title of *Saint*, an indelible disgrace, since it was acquired by the murder of heretics. He appointed the punishment of death for the following crimes:—The refusing to be baptized; the false pretence of being baptized; a relapse into idolatry; the murder of a bishop or priest—the murder of any other human being was but a *venial crime*; human sacrifices; eating meat during Lent.

lace against the married clergy. He snapt asunder the ancient ties which connected the churches and their pastors with the royal authority, in order to bind them more firmly to the pontifical throne. *Woe* to the civil rulers who should resist her claim ! Interdicts and excommunications released their subjects from their allegiance, and the earth refused even the peace and shelter of the tomb to the dead, at the command of the proud Pontiff. Yet Gregory VII was humbled in his turn—Rome was taken, and he died in exile at Salerno. His successors threw themselves as conquerors on the churches of Spain, which, with those of Prussia, fell into the embrace of the crowned priest. The crusades, about this period, spread far and wide, and threw a halo of military glory around the champions of the Church—pious pilgrims entering humbly and barefooted within the walls of Jerusalem, burned alive the Jews in their synagogues, and the soldiers of the Cross shed the blood of tens of thousands of Saracens, in the name of a peaceful and self-denying master, and thus revived in the East the nearly forgotten name of the Pope ; while the kingdoms of Christendom, already subject to the spiritual empire of Rome, became her serfs and her tributaries.

The author next takes a view of the state of the Papacy from this period, the internal divisions which had crept into the Church, its carnality, and the employment of theocratic forms as instruments of worldly schemes.

The general progression of intelligence, the study of philosophy, the revival of letters, and the invention of printing, all had their share in preparing the way for the Reformation.

In the twelfth century many sects arose, the most eminent of which was the Waldenses ; a crusade was proclaimed against those heretics, which involved the French provinces in all the horrors of a civil war.

Two centuries later the celebrated John Wickliffe appeared in England. He was one of the first heralds of the Reformation, and translated the New Testament into the vulgar tongue, for which his heretical bones were exhumed, and burnt for the honour of the Church. The light shed by Wickliffe illumed other countries, and especially Germany, after his death. The most eminent of his foreign disciples was John Huss, who perished at the stake in 1415. But the burning of heretics is not always the death-blow to heresy. Jerome of Prague appeared ; but the power which proved too strong for Huss seized hold of Jerome, who underwent the same fate. Other influences were at work, and other pioneers of the Reformation

started forth in different countries and amongst different ranks of society.

Amongst the most conspicuous of those was Martin Luther. Born in Saxony of humble parentage, and reared amidst hardships and privations of every kind, he successively became a monk of the Augustine order, and Professor of Divinity in the Academy of Wittemberg. Learned, eloquent, and intrepid, he was well fitted to act a part in a mighty revolution. His early career,—his profession as a monk in the Monastery of St Augustine,—his ascetic life—his mental struggles—his appointment as Professor at the University of Wittemberg, and the effect produced by his lectures and preaching, are all fully detailed.

A difference having arisen between seven convents of his order and the vicar-general, Luther's labours were interrupted, and he was dispatched on a mission to Rome.

"At last, after a fatiguing journey under the burning sun of Italy, he approached the seven-hilled city. His heart was moved within him. His eyes longed to behold the queen of the earth and of the Church! As soon as he discovered from a distance the Eternal City,—the city of St Peter and St Paul, the metropolis of the Catholic World, he threw himself on the earth, exclaiming, 'Holy Rome, I salute thee!'

"Luther was now in Rome; the professor of Wittemberg was in the midst of the eloquent ruins of the Rome of Consuls and of Emperors, the Rome of Confessors of Christ and of Martyrs. *There* had lived Plautus and Virgil, whose works he had carried with him into his cloister; and all those great men whose history had so often stirred his heart. He beheld their statues, and the ruined monuments which still attested their glory. But all this glory and power had passed away. He trod under foot the dust of them. He called to mind, at every step he took, the melancholy presentiments of Scipio, when, shedding tears over the ruins of Carthage, its palaces in flames, and its walls broken down, he exclaimed: '*It will one day be thus with Rome!*' 'And truly,' said Luther, 'the Rome of Scipios and Cæsars is but a corpse. There are such heaps of ruin that the foundations of the houses rest at this hour where once their roofs were. *There,*' said he, turning a melancholy look on its ruins, '*there were once the riches and treasures of this world!*'\* All these fragments of wreck which his foot encountered whispered to Luther, within Rome herself, that what is strongest in the sight of men may be destroyed by the breath of the Lord.

"But with these profaner ruins were mixed holy ashes: the thought of this came to his mind. The burial places of the martyrs are hard

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\* L. Opp. (W.) xxii, 2374, 2377.

by those of Roman generals and conquerors. Christian Rome, and her trials, had more power over the heart of the Saxon monk than Pagan Rome with all her glory. In this very place arrived that epistle wherein Paul wrote, '*the just shall live by faith.*' He is not far from the forum of Appian and the Three Taverns. In that spot was the house of Narcissus; here stood the palace of Cæsar, where the Lord delivered the Apostle from the jaws of the lion. Oh, how did these recollections strengthen the heart of the monk of Wittenberg!"

Luther was at this period still a pious Catholic, and deeply was he shocked at the levity of the Romish clergy, who, on their part, laughed at his simplicity. "One day when he was officiating, he found that at the altar they had read seven masses, while he was reading one." "Quick! quick!" said one of the priests, "send our *Lady* her son back speedily,"—thus alluding to the transubstantiation of the bread into the body and blood of Christ. On another occasion they laughingly related how, when saying mass at the altar, instead of the sacramental words which were to transform the elements into the body and blood of the Saviour, they pronounced over the bread and wine these sarcastic words:—"Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou shalt remain.—*Panis es, et panis manebis; vinum es, et vinum manebis.*"

This journey was in more respects than one important to the future Reformer. One day ascending on his knees *Pilate's Staircase*, he thought he heard a voice like thunder speaking from the depths of his heart,—"*The just shall live by faith.*" Twice before they had resounded on his ear; he started up in terror, struck with shame at the degradation to which superstition had debased him. This text was a creative word for the Reformer and the Reformation;—it was as if God had said,—"*Let there be light, and there was light.*"

On his return to Wittenberg, the Church lost hold on him in proportion as this text gained ground in his heart; it put God in the place of the priest.

In 1512 Luther was made Licentiate of Theology, and took an oath to defend the truth of the Gospel with all his strength.

Wittenberg, changed by his preaching, became the focus of a light which was soon to illuminate Germany, and spread over the whole church. A visit of inspection made by Luther in 1516, aroused many a drowsy spirit, and has been aptly termed "*the Morning Star of the Reformation.*"

In 1517 Luther exposed the shameful traffic in indulgences, which raised a storm that in the end shook the papal throne to its foundation. John Diezel, or Tetzel, a Dominican monk,

had long filled the office of agent for the sale of indulgences, and at this period made a progress through the country, which excited a lively sensation.

Did space allow, we might extract a graphic description of those *holy fairs*, but for this we must refer to the work itself.

On the feast of All-Saints, 1517, Luther affixed to the Church ninety-five theses against the sale of indulgences, declaring himself ready to defend them next day at the University.

The reception and effects of these theses were tremendous; they kindled a light in many a cabin and even palace. Tetzel took up the gauntlet, but with a feeble hand: the reply of Luther, and the discussions which followed, only spread wider the doctrines of the Reformer. Leo X, roused by the cry of the theologians and monks, cited Luther to Rome; but moved by the intercession of the University and the friends of the Reformer, he remitted the case to his legate, De Vio. Luther had now to contend face to face with the power of Rome; and our authorably contrasts the sophisms and wily conduct of the churchman with the bold and fearless bearing of the Reformer.

. After appealing to Leo X, Luther left Augsburg and returned to Wittenberg, where he busied himself in drawing up a report of the conference at Augsburg. Being in daily expectation of the malediction of the Pope, he prepared again to become a wanderer.

The second volume commences with the Leipsic discussion in 1519. The Pope was urged on all sides to give the finishing blow to the champion of Reform, when Leo suddenly changed his tactics. Charles Miltitz was sent into Saxony to confer with Luther. By gentleness and address, he prevailed on the Reformer to make many concessions, and even to write to the Pope, acknowledging that he had gone too far. The friends of the Reformation blushed to see its sturdy advocate yield before the politic courtier.

But the cloud was quickly dispersed; a quarrel ensued between Luther and a Romanist, which led to his re-assertion of the new doctrines with greater energy than before.

Our author gives a luminous summary of the doctrines discussed, and the important results which extended far and wide the cause of the Reformation.

The election of a successor to the Emperor Maximilian, and its effects on the progress of the Reformation, form the not least interesting portion of the present volume.

In 1520, everything being prepared, Leo was about to launch the thunder of the Vatican against Luther, who evaded the blow by withdrawing himself from the See of Rome. On leaving

Worms, Luther was seized by the orders of the Elector of Saxony, and lodged in safety from all his enemies in his Castle of Wartberg. Whilst Luther laboured in the Reformed cause in Saxony, Ulric Zwingle, a man more bold than Melancthon; more mild and enlightened than Luther, threw off the Papal yoke in Switzerland. The people of Glaris chose Zwingle for their pastor, and in 1526, he read his first mass on St Michael's day, at Wildhaus, in presence of his relations and their friends, and at the close of the year reached Glaris.

The following passage marks the different manner in which Luther and Zwingle attained to the same conviction in regard to the Papacy —

"Zwingle's advance was slow and progressive. He did not arrive at truth, as Luther had done, by those tempest-shocks which compel the soul hastily to seek a refuge; he reached it by the gentle influence of Scripture—a power which gradually subdues the heart of man. Luther attained the wished-for shore after struggling with the storms of ocean;—Zwingle by steering cautiously and slowly along the shore."

Great was the influence exercised over Zwingle by the celebrated Erasmus. The charm of his society banished Zwingle's timidity, and the power of his intellect impressed him with reverence. Rome sought to intimidate Luther by solemn judgments, and to win Zwingle by her favours. Neither method was successful; those champions of the Reformation were not to be won either by threats or flattery.

In 1518 a barefooted Carmelite arrived on the heights of St Gothard. This Italian monk was commissioned to sell Papal indulgences to the good Christians of the Helvetic League. "*I am empowered to remit all sins!*" proclaimed this Tetzels of Switzerland, "and to dispose of Christ's merits to whoever will purchase them."

Zwingle's zeal was kindled, and he preached vehemently against the unholy impostor. The adherents of the Swiss Reformer rapidly multiplied. The post of preacher to the College of Canons at Zurich became vacant about this period; and, after a violent contest, Zwingle was elected by a large majority. The admonition given to the preacher on his admission is a curious specimen of priestly morals at that period.

Though unable to follow the progress of the Italian monk, his meeting with, and repulse from, Bullinger, the Dean of Bremgarten, and Zwingle's continued and powerful opposition to the indulgences, we cannot refrain from giving the following graphic extract:—

Samson arrived at Zug in 1518, and from thence journeyed



to Berne, and spread out his stall in St Vincent's Church, where he began to cry up his wares more loudly than ever.

" 'Here,' said he to the rich, 'are indulgences on parchment, for one crown!—There,' addressing himself to the poor, 'are absolutions on common paper, for two batz only!' One day, a knight of high name, Jacob von Stein, presented himself before him, mounted on a prancing dapple-gray charger. 'Give me,' said the knight, 'an indulgence for myself; for my troop, which is five hundred strong; for all the vassals on my domain of Belp; and for all my ancestors; and I will give you in return this dapple-gray horse of mine.' It was a high price to ask for a horse. Nevertheless, the charger pleased the barefooted Carmelite. The bargain was struck, the beast was led into the monk's stable, and all those souls were duly declared to have been delivered for ever from the pains of hell!\* On another occasion, a burgher obtained from him for thirteen florins an indulgence, by virtue of which his confessor was authorized to absolve him, among other things, from every kind of perjury.† Samson was held in such reverence, that the counsellor, Von May, an old man of enlightened mind, having dropped some expressions against him, was obliged to ask pardon of the haughty monk on his knees.

"The last day of his stay had now arrived. A deafening clamour of bells gave warning to the inhabitants of Berne that the monk was about to take his departure. Samson was in the church, standing on the steps of the high altar. The canon, Henry Lupulus, Zwingli's former master, officiated as his interpreter. 'When the wolf and the fox come abroad together,' said the canon Anselm, addressing the Schultheiss von Watteville, 'the wisest plan for you, worshipful Sir, is to gather your sheep and your geese with all speed into a place of safety.' But the monk cared little for such remarks as these, which, moreover, seldom reached his ears. 'Fall on your knees,' said he to the superstitious crowd; 'repeat three *pater nosters* and three *ave Marias*, and your souls will instantly be as pure as they were at the moment of your baptism.' The multitude fell on their knees forthwith. Then determined to outdo himself, Samson cried out, 'I deliver from the torments of purgatory and hell the souls of all the people of Berne who have departed this life, whatsoever may have been the manner or the place of their death.' These mountebanks, like those who perform at fairs, always reserved their most astounding feat for the last."

The monk at length departed. "A cart drawn by three horses, and loaded with coin obtained from the poor and needy, rolled before him over those steep roads of the St Gothard, along which he had passed, eight months before, indigent, un-

\* "Um einem Küstgrowen Hengst. (Anshelm, V. 335: J. J. Hotting. Helv. K. Gesch. iii. 29.)"

† "A quovis perjurio. (Muller's Reliq. iv, 403.)"

attended, and encumbered by no burden save those said indulgences.”\*

While the Reformation was fast progressing in Switzerland, Luther remained safe from his enemies in the Castle of Wartberg. But this period of seclusion was not spent in idleness; his Tracts from the Wartberg, his Letters, his Theses on Celibacy and Monastic Vows, issued from his prison.

The sale of indulgences was resumed under the authority of the Archbishop and Elector of Mentz; but Luther was alive! and his letter to the elector on the subject greatly alarmed his friends; but the pusillanimous Albert quailed before the reproof of the sturdy Reformer. It was at this period that he formed, and partly executed, the design of translating the Bible; when circumstances, and especially the appearance of pretended prophets, induced him to leave the castle of Wartberg, and return secretly to Wittenberg. The effects of his presence and his preaching are all detailed.

The fame of the poor monk of Wittenberg had reached to England, and even provoked the indignation of Henry VIII. He gave orders, on the arrival of the Decree of Worms, that the Pope's bull against the writings of Luther should be carried into execution, which was accordingly done in May, 1521, at St Paul's cathedral, in presence of a vast concourse of spectators, with all the pomp and pageantry of sacerdotal grandeur.

Henry then laid aside his royal dignity, and entered the arena of theological disputation. His 'Defence of the Seven Sacraments,' &c., against Luther, was lauded by his parasites and courtiers; and when his work was presented to the Pope by the Dean of Windsor, Leo replied, that it could only have been composed by the aid of the Holy Spirit, and conferred on Henry the title of the *Defender of the Faith*.

Luther read the book with a smile of mingled disdain and impatience. In vain Melanethon and his other friends essayed to appease his wrath; his reply was couched in terms of violence and scurrility, which even the provocation he had received can scarcely excuse.

“I won't be gentle towards the King of England,” he replied; “I will turn upon my pursuers—I will provoke and exasperate my adversary until he falls and is annihilated.”

“If this heretic does not retract, he must be burnt,” said his royal adversary in his turn; and by such weapons did the champions of the meek and self-denying Galilean essay to for-

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\* Und führt mit ihm ein thespendiger Schatz an gelt den er armen lüthen abgelen hat. • (Bullinger, MS.)

ward his cause. The slogan of Henry was "Custom ! custom ! —Ordinances ! ordinances !—Fathers ! fathers !" The war-cry of Luther, "The Gospel, the Gospel !—Christ ! Christ !" He then proceeds, in a strain of fervid eloquence and a complete knowledge of the subject, to refute, one by one, the arguments of the royal theologian ; but, towards the conclusion, he again relapses into the violence and scurrility we have already reprobated.

Great was the sensation produced at the court of Henry by the arrival of Luther's reply. The Bishop of Rochester lost not a moment in repelling the attack. The following passage affords a good idea of the age and the Church :—

" 'Take us the little foxes that spoil the vines, says Christ in Solomon's Song ; from this we learn,' said Fisher, 'that we ought to lay hands upon heretics, *before they grow big*. Luther is become a large fox, so old, so cunning, so mischievous, that it is very difficult to catch him. What do I say, a fox ? He is a mad dog, a ravening wolf, a cruel she-bear ; or rather, all these put together, for the monster includes many beasts within him.' " \*

\* Thomas More also entered the arena against the monk of Wittenberg, and was not behind him of Rochester in scurrility and fanaticism.†

Henry now threw aside the pen of the theologian, and resorted to diplomacy. In reply to the letters he addressed to the Elector and the Duke of Saxony, he was referred to the approaching Council ; and thus found himself as far as ever from his object.

Meanwhile the Reformation continued to spread, and daily to gain new adherents. The monastic orders were among the first to burst their fetters, and to propagate the new doctrines throughout the Western Church ; the Franciscans soon followed their example. For several years past the public mind in Germany had been in a state of incessant agitation. A force had been at work, which had gradually unloosened the connexion which had for ages bound the whole fabric of society to the Romish Church. The supremacy of its Pontiff had been generally regarded as a fundamental principle of revealed religion, yet this was the very principle against which the Reformers first directed their attacks. The school which Frederic

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\* "Canem dixissem rabidum, imo lupum rapacissimum, aut sævissimam quamdam ursam. (Cochläus, p. 60.)"

† At a later period, More himself was executed by this reforming king. "At his death," says a late eloquent writer, "science wept, and humanity shuddered ; but was consoled by recollecting that Sir Thomas was himself a persecutor, and a friend of persecution."

had formed, and into which Luther introduced the word of life, became the centre of that wide-spreading revolution which regenerated the Church. The progressive movement in Germany,—the influence exercised by the wars between the reigning Potentates,—the policy of Adrian,—and the effect of his briefs, are all minutely detailed.

The efforts of Duke George to stimulate the Elector and Duke John to persecute the new faith, afford a curious instance of the ignorance and bigotry of the times.

Failing in his object, Duke George persecuted all within his reach ; but it was in the Low Countries, under the immediate sway of Charles V, that persecution broke out in all its virulence.

The martyrdom of the three young Augustine monks at Brussels, on the 1st of July, 1523, occasioned fearful anticipations amongst the Reformers. At the stake they displayed a fortitude which created equal sympathy and admiration. Luther composed a hymn commemorative of this priestly murder ; and from the ashes of those intrepid youths a noble harvest sprung up :

“ And Piety had learned to burn  
With holier transport o’er their urn !”

Adrian would doubtless have persisted in this sanguinary policy, had not death cut short his career in 1523. The Romans themselves rejoiced at being rid of this stern German, and suspended a crown of flowers over the door of his physician, with the inscription—“ *To the Saviour of his Country.*”

Julio de Medicis (Clement VII) succeeded, and during his pontificate thought only of maintaining the privileges of the Papal see, and employing its resources for his own aggrandisement.

Space would not permit, were we even inclined, to follow our author, step by step, in his account of the progress of the Reformation. Suffice it to say, that into whatever country it penetrated, it was pursued by the anathemas of the Romish priesthood, and oft baptised with the baptism of blood.

The effects produced on the progress of the Reformation by the discussions at the Diet of Nuremberg in 1525,—the intrigues of Cardinal Campeggio, the legate of Clement VII, the noblest prelate of his court,—and the Ratisbon League, all pass under review.

“ From that hour,” says our author, “ the cause of Luther was no longer of a nature purely religious ; and the contest with the monk of Wittenberg ranked amongst the political events of Europe.”

We would only observe, in conclusion, that the facts and arguments seem to us to be candidly stated, and that M. D'Aubigné displays less bigotry in speaking of the Roman Catholic actors in the great drama of the Reformation than is observable in some other chroniclers of those times. This history is, moreover, valuable as being drawn from original sources, with which his long residence in Germany, the Low Countries, and Switzerland rendered him familiar.

Not having seen the original, we cannot speak of the fidelity of the translation; but, on the whole, we think the present work may be regarded as an important acquisition to our ecclesiastical literature. One of more striking interest for the general reader has rarely been published.

C. H.

ART. IX.—1. *Address of the House of Commons to the Queen, on the 10th of June, 1841.*

2. *Answer of her Majesty to the House of Commons, on the 21st of June. Printed in the Votes and Proceedings of the House of Commons, 21st June, 1841.*

WE should have to apologize to our readers if it were our intention merely to discuss the almost threadbare subject of the Danish claims, but these having been favourably decided by the Legislature, the case of those claimants is now changed into a perfectly new case, involving a constitutional question which concerns the community at large, and as such we now propose to examine it.

A noble lord, a former Chancellor of the Exchequer,\* observed in the House of Lords, that the whole science (*qu. art?*) of government is a perpetual struggle with difficulties. One of the principal struggles made by governments appears to be against the payment of their just debts. The object of each succeeding Chancellor of the Exchequer is, by every shift and expedient he can devise, to stave off for the hour or the day the most pressing of the creditors that beset him; paying those that are men "of good friends," and have interest enough to back their claims—shutting the door in the face of those who have not. The abstract justice or injustice of the demand is nothing. Nay, more, it would even seem now that it is nothing, although the justice of the claim is guaranteed and supported by repeated majorities of the votes of the House of Commons. This last fact is curious, and appears to involve an important constitutional question.

\* The Earl of Ripon, Oct. 4th, 1841.

The staving off system is founded on a calculation that petitioners for relief will be worn out by the delays, difficulties, and hardships to which they are exposed; that—to borrow an official phrase—they will be “killed off.” It would, however, redound more to the honour of our salaried officials if, instead of mis-spending their time in concerting means to evade the claims of justice, and thus lowering the character of an administration by dishonest shuffling,—it would be more creditable if the ability which is presumed to exist, where so large a salary is paid, were directed to the furtherance of those measures which would relieve the industrious classes from the monopolies which paralyze their exertions, and by so doing relieve at the same time their own financial anxieties. But one wrong begets another. A monopoly enjoyed by one individual or one class, besides the money that it takes directly out of the pockets of other individuals and other classes, prevents a certain quantity of revenue from going into the coffers of the Government, and thus renders it more difficult for that Government to pay its debts, and thus indirectly again injures those other individuals and other classes. Thus seeing no hope of being able to meet their liabilities honestly and openly, it is upon the staving off system that the right honourable “guardians of the public purse” count. They trust that, the patience of their friends and supporters being at last worn out, the poor remains of these unfortunate claimants will share the fate that has already befallen many of their brethren in suffering,—retire to some obscure corner and die, leaving their lost heritage not to their children, but to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his successors for ever. It might be thought that such a picture belonged to a state of things that had long passed away; that instead of our own comparatively just, humane, and enlightened age, we were speaking of the time when for the redress of a wrong for which the ordinary courts of justice afforded no remedy, instead of appealing to the wisdom and justice of Parliament, the miserable suitor had to lay his humble suit at the feet of some pampered, idle, insolent, court menial, ignorant of everything which, as an English statesman, it was as well his interest as his duty to know,—some creature to the last degree imbecile, or vicious,—knowing no higher impulse than the low sordid passions of a savage or a brute, and to whom, consequently, there is no appeal but through some of those sordid passions. But it is not so—it is not of that age that we are speaking, but of our own, the present, the very time that now is. And yet when we contemplate the weight of accumulated injury, the years of hope deferred—of fruitless petition—of unheeded prayer, which it is still the fate of many British citizens to undergo,

we might well suppose that their case belonged to the most dark, cruel, and tyrannous time of our country's history.'

The foregoing remarks have been suggested by a case of oppression and suffering which has already been so long in some shape before the public, that were not a generous disposition to take part with the weak and oppressed a characteristic of the English people, it might be necessary to offer an apology for adverting to it here.

When the wife and children of Sir Walter Raleigh implored King James on their knees to spare the remnant of their fortunes, that they might have out of their inheritance at least wherewithal to keep them from starving, King James's only reply was, "I maun ha' the land—I maun ha' it for Carr" (one of his base minions).

It is a melancholy proof how slowly governments learn to be just—in other words, how slow is the progress of mankind in the science of government, that about two hundred years after the application of Raleigh's children, when certain British subjects, who had been plundered of their property solely through the instrumentality of their own Government, applied for redress and compensation out of double the amount of property which their Government had got in lieu of that which they (the applicants) had lost, they were told, as Lady Raleigh had been told, that their claim might be reasonable enough, but that it was not convenient to satisfy it, inasmuch as the funds for doing so had been appropriated to other purposes. The reply to these claimants, however, was not quite so frank and straightforward as that of King James. It was not, "We maun ha' the siller—we maun ha' it for Buckingham Palace." On the contrary, the Minister of the Crown declared that—

"Out of the proceeds arising from the Danish prizes, 348,000*l.* had already been applied to the public service. This was done in consequence of a determination to apply the whole of the proceeds thence arising to the service of the public, after satisfying the claimants and captors. The motives by which they were then actuated arose out of the circumstances of there being various merchants, who looked for a remuneration of the losses they had sustained, from the manner in which the war broke out, from those proceeds."\*

Whether the whole of these proceeds were so applied, there is no further evidence.

In 1807, the British Government became possessed of a very

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\* Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—*Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, May 30, 1810.

large sum of money, 1,379,000*l.*, derived from the seizure of Danish private property before any declaration of war, or any circumstances that might be construed into the forerunners thereof. By way of reprisal, the Danish Government seized British property amounting in all to something less than half the amount of Danish property seized by Great Britain. After twenty-seven years of uninterrupted but fruitless application to their own Government from the British subjects whose property had been thus sacrificed in the way of reprisals for the Danish property sacrificed by the unprovoked and unexpected attack of the British Government, Parliament in 1834 agreed to the general principle of compensating claims for losses by the Danes in 1807, and Commissioners were appointed to examine and report on them. These Commissioners, in their report to the Treasury, divided the claims into three classes:—

1. Those for book debts.
2. Those for goods seized on shore.
3. Those for ships and cargoes seized.

And the Treasury, in their Minute of November, 1834 (and we particularly request attention to the fact), *distinctly referred it to the decision of Parliament*, “whether any or all of the classes were to be admitted to compensation.”

In 1835 and 1836 the Chancellor of the Exchequer paid the classes 1 and 2, but refused to pay class 3, stating in his place in the House that he resisted the demand of those claimants, not upon his own authority but that of the Crown lawyers, who, when applied to as to how far these injuries were justified by the laws of war and of nations, replied, “That all ships and cargoes, whether in port or on the high seas, might be seized and confiscated, even though the two nations were not actually at war at the moment.”

Notwithstanding this, these claimants brought their claim before the House of Commons, and on the 24th of May, 1838, carried it by a majority of thirty-four, on the grounds (amongst others, such as funds derived by the British Government from their aggression, the anomalous and unprecedented nature of the aggression itself, and the withdrawal of protection) that their case was a case of reprisals, and not of war; and that, according to Vattel, at present the highest authority on questions of international law, “IN CASES OF REPRISALS THE SOVEREIGN IS TO COMPENSATE THOSE OF HIS SUBJECTS ON WHOM THE REPRISALS FALL; IT IS A DEBT OF THE STATE OR NATION; OF WHICH EACH CITIZEN OUGHT ONLY TO PAY HIS QUOTA.”\*

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\* Vattel's ‘Law of Nations,’ b. ii, ch. xviii, § 345.



Instead of complying with the sense of the House of Commons thus unequivocally expressed, Mr Spring Rice, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, directed the Commissioners to make an illusory report. The words of Mr Cresswell's motion, which had been carried, as we have said, by a majority of 34, were—

“That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions to the Commissioners to whom it was referred to examine the claims of certain British subjects for losses sustained on account of book-debts and other property confiscated by the Government of Denmark in the year 1807, that they shall examine the claims for losses sustained on account of seizures of ships and cargoes by the said Government in the said year, and that the said Commissioners shall report on such claims to the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury.”

Now, whatever construction might be put upon the precise words of this motion, Mr Cresswell's speech on making it, and the debate on the occasion, rendered it perfectly clear that the object of the mover, and the object of the large majority who voted with him, was a *judicial* examination of the claims individually, and the payment of such as should be found just. Instead of this, these Commissioners merely gave a list of the claims sent in, saying that they “had not felt themselves warranted by their instructions in proceeding to a judicial determination of any of the cases which had been laid before them.”\*

The claimants finding that, notwithstanding this solemn decision of the House of Commons, justice was still refused to them, Mr Cresswell, on the 18th of June, 1839, moved the following address:—

“That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to direct the Commissioners to whom it was referred to examine the claims of certain British subjects, in respect of losses sustained by the seizure of ships and cargoes by the Danish Government in 1807, to proceed to adjudicate upon the claims which they have received, and upon which they have made a report to the Lords of her Majesty's Treasury.”

This motion, after a debate in which many members joined, was carried by a majority of sixty-three. And on the 12th of May, 1840, the Commissioners, in conformity with the terms of the above address, sent in a *judicial* report to the Treasury, in which they make the following statement:—

“The schedule which accompanied our report of the 6th of Feb-

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\* Report of the Commissioners for investigating the claims of the sufferers by seizure of ships and goods by the Danes in 1807. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1st of March, 1839.

ruary, 1839, contained ninety claims, which amounted to 524,747*l.* 18*s.* 11*d.*

"Many of these claims have since been disallowed in part; many have been subdivided into separate cases; and the result of the whole investigation is, that we report 116 claims to be supported by proof, amounting to 225,126*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.*

"The remaining cases have been rejected for deficiency of proof.

"In the judicial investigation of these claims, our object has been to ascertain the actual loss sustained, without taking into consideration any mercantile profit which might have been realized if the seizures and confiscations made by the Danish Government had never taken place."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer having signified his intention still to resist the payment of the money, the House of Commons, on the 16th of February, 1841, again decided—

"That it would resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of an address to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty would be graciously pleased to advance to the claimants the amount ascertained by the Commissioners to be due, and to assure her Majesty that the House would make good the same."

On the 9th of June, 1841, Mr Cresswell moved, that the House do resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to address her Majesty on the subject of the Danish claims. On this occasion the Solicitor-General, Sir Thomas Wilde, in an elaborate and very able speech, attempted to overthrow the main arguments that had been used on former occasions on behalf of those claims; and with this view the honourable and learned gentleman directed his chief efforts to show that this was not a case of reprisals, but a case of war, and consequently was not an exceptional case, but a case falling under the general rule as to captures made in time of war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer consented to the appointment of a committee, reserving his opposition to the bringing up of the report. Accordingly, on the 16th the report having been brought up, and the resolution read a first time,—on the question that it be read a second time, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr F. Baring, opposed it, and was supported by the Solicitor-General in another long and ingenious speech.\* But notwithstanding this powerful opposition, the following resolution was carried:—

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\* Although it is unnecessary now to re-argue this part of the question after the solemn and definitive decision of the House of Commons in favour of the claimants, yet, as the statements of the Solicitor-General, particularly those which were directed to show that this was not a case of reprisals, were thought to have misled some honourable members, we shall here make one or two observations upon them. In his speech on the 10th of June (1841), the hon. and learned gentleman referred to certain documents. One of these, on which the hon. and learned gentleman relied

“That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take into consideration the report, bearing date 12th May, 1840, made by the Commis-

much, was a paper which was, in fact, nothing more than an ordinance (that is the name in the original, though it is called a “proclamation” in the ‘Annual Register’ and by the Solicitor-General) for the provisional detention of British property, but was quoted by the Solicitor-General as a regular and formal declaration of war. A declaration of war is attended with certain formalities.\* Now it is to be observed, that this so-called declaration of war is not produced from the Foreign Office, as having been sent to the British Government, but is extracted from the ‘Annual Register:’ it does not emanate from the seat of the Danish Government, but is a local notification that Danish subjects are to be prepared, if required, to repel certain hostilities which have been announced on the part of Great Britain, and that British property is to be *put under sequester*, with the view of being kept possession of by way of REPRISAL,—1st, as a PLEDGE, till it shall appear whether ample satisfaction is to be obtained; 2nd, when all other satisfaction appears hopeless, to be confiscated and applied by way of satisfaction as far as it will go. But, independently of other considerations on this head, the British Government is completely estopped by its own act from pleading any document of this or a much later date, in proof that Great Britain and Denmark were in a state of actual war. It appears from Acton’s ‘Admiralty Reports,’ that the Danish ship “Orion,” taken the 10th October, 1807, on a voyage from Archangel to Leghorn, was declared to have been taken prior “to the declaration of hostilities.”†

The Solicitor-General further said:—“On the 9th September the decree was issued which gave rise to the claims for compensation, namely, that respecting the confiscation.” The hon. and learned gentleman is here completely in error. The decree of the 9th September only orders, on the part of the Danish Government, the seizure and *detention* of British property. The decree ordering *condemnation* is dated the 24th December. This is of material importance, because the parties only claim for seizures *prior* to the 24th December, and within the Baltic, and the principal claims are for seizures between the 15th November and the middle of December, after the British ships of war had been prematurely withdrawn from the Baltic in the middle of November.

The Solicitor-General said, that the knowledge that the British fleet had arrived off the coast of Denmark was abundant intimation to British merchants that they could not remain in safety in that neighbourhood. We ask, why not? It was not known then what was the destination of this powerful British fleet. Mr Canuing, in his speech on the 3rd February, 1808, says, in answer to the charge why they did not pass by Copenhagen in order to attack Cronstadt,—“We had the right to attack Russia, but had we no interest in forbearing to exercise that right? There were at the time in the ports of Russia 500 British ships and 6,000 British seamen, and gentlemen would perceive these formed too important an object to be hazarded for the sake of the few hulks that might be obtained at Cronstadt.” On the 7th September the capitulation of Copenhagen was signed, with an armistice for six weeks. During this period, namely, from the 14th September to the 24th October, no less than 257 British ships cleared at the Danish port of Elsinore, in to as well as out of the Baltic. In contradistinction to the conduct of the British Government in regard to the trade

\* Vattel, b. iii, ch. ix, § 55.

† Acton’s ‘Rep.’ 205.

soners to whom it was referred to examine and adjudicate upon the claims of certain British subjects for losses sustained by the seizure and confiscation of their ships and cargoes by the Government of Den-

to-Holstein, from whence all British merchantmen had been warned before the 16th August, and whither, on the 2nd September, all shipments had been prohibited, licences were granted and convoys provided for ships bound to the Baltic during the whole period, from July up to the middle of November. The continuance of the Baltic trade, notwithstanding the hostilities against Denmark, was thus sanctioned by the Government at home, and no warning was given by the Admiral. On the contrary, protection for the return voyage was promised, but not kept, as may be seen by Mr Stainforth's (M.P.) letter to the ship-owners of Hull, dated 15th December, 1807, and by the answer of the Admiralty to the Russian merchants of London about the same time. In contrast with this desertion of the ships in the Baltic in November and December, 1807, it appears, from Lloyd's list of 1806, that in the latter year the following convoys sailed from the Baltic in the month of December, &c. :—

Elsinore on the 9th December, 1806, the	"Ariel,"	S.W. and convoy.
... 13th ditto, do.	"Flamer,"	G.B. and convoy.
... 19th ditto, do.	"Raillieur,"	G.B. and convoy.
... 21st ditto, do.	"Alert,"	S.W. and convoy.
... 22nd ditto, do.	"Hebe,"	S.W. and convoy.
... 29th ditto, do.	Another	convoy.
... 1st January, 1807, the	"Astrea,"	F. arrived.
... 3rd ditto, do.	"Swift,"	arrived and
... on 20th ditto, do.	sailed with	convoy.

On the 24th August the Danish Government issued a state paper complaining to the other powers of Europe of the aggressions of the British Government. This the Solicitor-General calls "in very hostile terms"—but it is no more than the local papers of the 16th August—a declaration of war, and no other was issued by the Danish Government until the decree of the 24th December. On the 16th August an order was also issued at Copenhagen, directing British property and ships to be sequestered; but by the capitulation of Copenhagen, that sequester was withdrawn, and the Hamburg Lloyd's List contains the following letter from Elsinore, 8th November: "On Thursday one of the two English brigs which had been detained previous to the capitulation of Copenhagen, and which, in accordance with that capitulation, were to be restored, was taken over to Helsingborg (on the Swedish coast) for that purpose, along with her cargo of tallow, hemp, and iron."

And on the 27th November, 1807 (see Hamburg Lloyd's Lists), the Crown Prince replied to the memorial of the Copenhagen merchants, requesting "that the condemnation of the sequestered and captured British property be suspended until England, by the condemnation of Danish property, gives the example;" and says—"That in general no modification of the decrees of 9th and 14th September (for sequester) can be granted; but that, in respect to the above particular request, his Majesty the King has taken as much as possible paternal consideration for the welfare of those subjects whose property fell into the enemy's power, not to provoke its condemnation; and for that reason, the enemy's property within his Majesty's territories and dominions has only as yet been put under sequester, however little expectation there may be that such conduct will be reciprocated by so treacherous an enemy." But while the Danish Government abstained from other than defensive and precautionary measures, the

mark in the year 1807; and that her Majesty will be pleased to advance to such claimants the amount of their respective losses, as ascertained by the said Commissioners; and assuring her Majesty that the House will make good the same."

British Government thought proper, on the 4th November, to issue a declaration of war, and to direct the condemnation of Danish property to be commenced. Thus every step in hostility was first taken by England, and this last in contradiction to the usual practice as laid down by Sir W. Scott (see Robinson's 'Reports,' vol i, p. 64), namely—"At the breaking out of a war it is the constant practice of this country to condemn property seized before the war, if the enemy condemns, and to restore if the enemy restores. It is a principle sanctioned by that great foundation of the law of England, Magna Charta itself, which prescribes that, at the commencement of a war, the enemy's merchants shall be kept, and treated as our merchants are treated in their country."

Now the Danish Government, seeing no other chance of obtaining redress for British hostilities, did, in November, call on its merchants to seek for it by reprisals; and, from about the middle of November, the principal seizures of British property and ships in the Baltic were made as reprisals up to the 24th December, when, by the decree of condemnation, according to Vattel, book ii, ch. 18,\* the period of reprisals expired, and actual hostilities on the part of Denmark commenced. The Solicitor-General, in a later part of his speech, seems to give up his so-called declaration of war of the 18th August, for he takes the date of 4th November, when England declared war, as the period of actual war, after which captures were no longer reprisals. But this cannot affect the case, for this act of the British Government only gives the stronger claim: like the first act of aggression, it was one part of the cause of their subjects' losses; for, after all, the withdrawing of the accustomed and promised protection from the Baltic was the immediate cause of the loss. All the various circumstances have been sifted by the Commissioners in their rigid examination, and have been discussed over and over again in Parliament; and Parliament, to whom it was referred by Ministers in the Treasury minute, November, 1834, have decided in favour of the claims, and undertaken to provide the amount awarded. But to return to the period of Danish sequester. In Lord Sidmouth's speech it is stated to be the 9th September. That is the date of the Government decree directed to the whole country from the then seat of the Government, and was never contradicted in any of the debates during the time, namely, 1808. It is the date referred to and acknowledged in all the Danish docu-

\* Vattel's words are—"The effects thus seized on (i.e. by way of reprisals) are preserved while there is any hope of obtaining satisfaction or justice. *As soon as that hope disappears, they are confiscated, and then the reprisals are accomplished,*"—"Law of Nations,' b. ii, ch. xviii, § 342. The following is a translation of the words of the original Royal Proclamation concerning the confiscation of English property, dated Rendsborg, 24th December, 1807:—

"We, Christian the Seventh, by the grace of God, King of Denmark and Norway, of the Vandals and Goths, Duke of Sleswick, Holstein, Stormarn, Ditmarschen, and Oldenburg, hereby make known, that the proceedings of the British Government against us and our subjects, compel us to declare as confiscated all English property which, in pursuance of our ordinance of 9th September this year, has been or may afterwards be detained in our territories. We therefore command as follows: &c. &c."

To this address the following answer was returned to the House on the 21st of June:—

“VICTORIA R.

“It must at all times be my earnest desire to attend to the wishes of the House of Commons, and I shall be ready to give effect to them in this instance, whenever the means shall have been provided by Parliament.”

Now, a natural question is, why did not her Majesty in this instance, as in others, at once comply with the request of the House, and pay the money?

The answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to this question is—

“Because there is no legal power in the Crown to do so. If a Treasury warrant, signed by her Majesty, and counter-signed by himself, were issued, and he were to take it to the Exchequer, the answer would be, that there was no legal means by which it could be paid; that her Majesty had no power to issue such a warrant; that they could not pay any sum of money, unless they were directed to do so by a bill passed by that House, and concurred in by the rest of the Legislature.”\*

Now, according to Mr F. Baring, Chancellor of the Exchequer, the House of Commons has been requesting the Crown to commit, and the Crown has been committing, acts which are against the law for a great many years. The following grants, which are extracted from the Annual Appropriation Acts, were made by Parliament, “To make good to his Majesty the like sums issued in pursuance of the addresses of the House of Commons.”

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ments upon which compensation has all along been granted; they all expressly state that the confiscation took place in consequence of the decree of sequester, 9th September, 1807, and decree of condemnation, 24th December, 1807. Even supposing this prior order for sequester to have existed in Holstein, it does not appear to have been named as being a declaration of war (not even in the Treasury manifesto published in the ‘Morning Chronicle’) until the Solicitor-General, on the 10th June, chose to designate it as such. Whether the translation in the ‘Annual Register’ is accurate is also a question; for it is not an official document. But it must be evident that the Danish Government did not, on the 16th August, intend to declare war against the British Government. The laying embargo, the putting under sequester, the preparations and precautions for defence in the case of a threatened attack, are never considered a state of actual war, or a declaration of war. Again, to draw a line that captures in the Baltic after a declaration of war are to be excluded from compensation, is making British subjects suffer from the acts of their own Government. The proper line to draw is the 24th December; and in the Baltic, up to this last period, the seizures on the part of the Danes were strictly reprisals.

\* Debate, June 10th, 1841.

	£.		£.
1774	- - - 10,100	Brought forward	547,606
1775	- - - 12,576	1796	- - - 29,921
1776	- - - 7,406	1797	- - - 28,263
1777	- - - 13,060	1798	- - - 10,043
1778	- - - 19,100	1799	- - - 9,337
1779	- - - 32,968	1800	- - - 26,203
1780	- - - 15,700	1801	- - - 21,808
1781	- - - 22,222	"	- - - 10,895
1782	- - - 8,908	1802	- - - 14,049
1783	- - - 11,236	1803	- - - 27,474
1784	- - - 36,841	1804	- - - 15,321
1785	- - - 7,066	1805	- - - 14,403
1786	- - - 12,259	1806	- - - 54,170
1787	- - - 12,138	1807	- - - 5,388
1788	- - - 17,496	1808	- - - 27,288
1789	- - - 34,370	1809	- - - 22,166
1790	- - - 48,424	1810	- - - 15,165
1791	- - - 67,948	1811	- - - 11,632
1792	- - - 26,043	1812	- - - 22,316
1793	- - - 37,657	1813	- - - 14,715
1794	- - - 46,619	1814	- - - 40,021
1795	- - - 47,469	1815	- - - 26,790
Carried forward	547,606		£. 994,974

Now, are all these precedents against law? Or is a Chancellor of the Exchequer empowered to call whatever suits his convenience law? \* The address and the answer, on this occasion, were exactly the same as in the case of Mr Palmer, 1811. The answer in that case appears to have served as a precedent for framing the answer in the present case. How did the House view the answer on that occasion? Mr Whitbread said:—

“The answer conveyed the greatest possible insult on the House, going as it did to express a doubt of the inclination or of the ability to make good any sums which his Royal Highness might order to be issued, in consequence of an address of that House.”

Mr Charles Wynn added:—

“In the present instance the privileges of the House were attacked. Though against the principle of address on such occasions, yet when done, it must be carried into effect, and was entitled to all the weight and authority the House could give to its proceedings. It was a notorious fact, that the address of the House of Commons, or their vote, was always considered as decisive on money questions. Did the Exchequer ever wait for anything else? Did they ever wait for an act of appropriation?”

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\* Can any instance be adduced of an “address” not being complied with? In Palmer’s case, though there was a delay, the money was paid.

Mr William Lamb (now Lord Melbourne) observed:—

“The right Honourable gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would have acted more wisely if he had lent a furthering hand to the decision of the House of Commons when they had agreed that the money ought to be granted, instead of giving, as he had done, every possible opposition to its effect. If such a principle were to be acted upon it would come to this, that the votes of the House would be considered as omnipotent when they were given in support of the minister, and of no effect whatever when given against him.”

The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied:—

“Had not the Crown full authority to pause before it complied with that or any address? That was all that had been done in this instance. The right of refusal was not under consideration. It had not been done. What was the answer complained of? Why, the answer expressed the readiness of the Prince Regent to comply with the wish of the House, but desired some little time for consideration.”  
—*Hansard's Debates*, 30th May, 1811.

These remarks of Mr Charles Wynn and Lord Melbourne place the question in its true light, and they are applicable in every particular to the case which we are now considering. If a minister may treat in this manner with impunity the votes of the House of Commons, it is clear that the House of Commons is a mere name, and that the minister of the Crown may adopt the words of Louis the Fourteenth, with the substitution of “Parliament” for “l'état,” and say, “The Parliament! *c'est moi!*” For, as Mr Charles Wynn observed, it is notorious that the address of the House of Commons, or their vote, was always considered as decisive in money questions. In other words, by the fundamental principles of the Constitution, the House of Commons, though only a limb of the Parliament or Sovereign in other questions, is in money questions the Sovereign itself—in other words, represents the whole Parliament. Its vote, therefore, deliberately given and recorded, has in such questions the force of law.

But observe what any opposition on the part of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (of whatever party) to carrying into effect the measure contemplated in the Queen's answer, as quoted above, would amount to. That answer is in effect the answer of the Queen's ministers, specifically the answer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Now what name would belong to the conduct of an individual who should solemnly assent to the performance of a certain act, and then use every effort in his power to hinder that act from being accomplished? Yet this would be precisely the conduct of any Chancellor of her Majesty's Exchequer, who, after this address and this answer, should offer any opposition to the House of Commons making good its deliberately given and solemnly recorded resolution.

It is a maxim of the English law that there is no wrong with-



out a remedy. It was made one of the articles of Lord Somers's impeachment, that in his argument in the *Bankers' Case* he appeared to throw a doubt upon this principle—that he seemed to argue for the position that there might be, that there were, cases in which the subject might have a right without a remedy, unless by petition to the person of the King; a doctrine, certainly, which appears quite incompatible with the existence of a free and constitutional Government—a doctrine which was overthrown by the final and solemn decision of the House of Lords, which reversed Lord Somers's judgment in the *Bankers' Case*, and affirmed that of the barons of the Exchequer and the majority of the judges.\* In the case before us the plaintiffs had suffered a grievous wrong, and they adopted and strictly followed the course marked out by the constitution and laws of their country in seeking a remedy. They submitted their case to the decision of that court, viz., the High Court of Parliament (for it is almost unnecessary to repeat the observation of Mr C. Wynn, a very high authority on that point, that on money questions the House of Commons represents the High Court of Parliament), to which their adversary expressly referred them.† That court solemnly and deliberately gave judgment in their favour. It was not a judgment obtained, as some are in that tribunal, by fraud, by trick, by haste, by negligence, by oversight on the part of those opposed to it. The question was repeatedly and deliberately argued, and in everything that was done respecting it the strictest regard was had to all the forms of the House; and the opposite side in the cause, viz., the Chancellor of the Exchequer, strained every nerve to obtain a judgment in his own favour. Nevertheless, as we have said, judgment was recorded in favour of the plaintiffs. The Queen's gracious answer to the address of the House was, that her Majesty would pay the money as soon as Parliament should provide the means. Now, it was clearly the duty of those who prepared the estimates next after the receipt of this answer by the House to include in them the sum of money which the Queen had here given a clear and distinct "*promise to pay*." As ministers did not think fit, however, to make any provision for enabling their Royal mistress to redeem her promise thus solemnly given, it is only a natural inference therefrom that it is not their intention ever to do so, and it now remains for these claimants to see whether the laws of their country have provided no remedy for such wrongs as theirs.

I. B.

\* See the *Bankers' Case*, or *Rex v. Hornby*, Hargrave's 'State Trials,' vol. xi, p. 136; Howell's 'State Trials,' vol. xiv, p. 1. See also 1 Freem., 331; 5 Mod., 29; 1 T. R., 172; Skinn., 601.

† Treasury Minute of 4th November, 1834.

ART. X.—*Gatherings from Grave-yards, particularly those of London, &c.* By G. A. Walker, Surgeon. Longman. 1839. pp. 258.

WHAT a mass of unimaginative, unthinking beings, forms the genus man. Fill the mouths of thieves and paupers with wheaten bread, the whiteness of which does not quite rival that on the Queen's table, but which is exceedingly wholesome and nutritious, and very much better than that which is eaten by the greater part of the self-sustaining labourers of all Europe, and both Houses of Parliament are in throes of humane agony at the wrongs of the poor. The difference of colour can be seen with mortal eyes; it is a subject of most obvious comparison. Fill, however, the lungs of thieves and paupers—fill their prisons and poor-houses—fill the Sunday-schools of the young, and the churches and chapels of the virtuous, and the workshops and pent-up dwellings of the industrious—fill the lordly mansions of the rich, and the very palace of royalty itself, with the deadly poisonous emanations of burial-grounds and charnel-houses; let these pestiferous gases saturate the air where crowds of coroneted worshippers are assembled in our churches, or where multitudes of little children get their Sabbath-day's brief dole of learning; let half a city be corrupted with human putrescence, and so long as these matters do not seize violently and continuously by the nose the people of quality, no public commotion is raised, no Parliament is petitioned, no sound is heard about the neglected health of the community. The chief reason of this is, that to convince the judgment, thought and consideration are needful—to prove that such evils exist, and that they are unwholesome, facts must be collected, experiments performed, and conclusions carefully deduced; all which are matters of some trouble and difficulty. The simplest biped that walks, will not, with his eyes open, jump into a break-neck hole, or run straight upon pointed spikes; and yet men, the great and the learned even, are so blind, that they surround themselves, by day and by night, with equally certain although more slow instruments of death. It is only educated men,—it is only a highly-instructed class, who take rational care of their health. When ill, people in general take physic to be sure, and they get well or die; but they do not know nor consider that the preservation of their health, and the defence against disease, are very much in their own power, and that when tolerably put together by nature, it is in general only by a violation of some of her laws that they become diseased. Had it not been for the neglect of this most

useful knowledge, the cities of England, and particularly the metropolis, would not have remained up to the present time without sanatory regulations, especially respecting the burial of the dead, the neglect of which are among the most certain causes of unwholesomeness. In this country, the Government rarely takes the initiative; improvements are effected only when the people clamour for them, but it is a tedious and difficult thing to educate a people up to the appreciation of new and wholesome regulations. In other countries, as in France, the Government *moves*: here it is moved; there it is sufficient for a few instructed men to show the need and usefulness of a law, and it is likely to be introduced.

The unwholesomeness of inhumation in cities, especially when densely peopled, caused governments in ancient times to prohibit its practice. "Plato, in his republic, did not even permit inhumation in fields fit for tillage; he reserved for that purpose dry and sandy ground, which could be employed for no other use." Indeed, the practice was little known or scarcely allowed in Europe until after the Christian era. Wealthy and pious persons sometimes, as an especial favour granted by the ecclesiastical authorities, were buried within churches, or in chapels contiguous to them; by degrees the exception became the general rule: "the prerogative, originally reserved for emperors, became the portion of the lowest class of citizens, and that which at first was a distinction, became at last a right common to every one."

Much curious matter has been collected by Mr Walker respecting the funeral rites of people in different ages, and in different parts of the world. He cites the practice of the Jews, the laws of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Carthaginians, all of whom strictly prohibited interment within their cities. Many extracts are given in Mr Walker's book from Orders in Council, and letters of bishops and others, against the renewal of this pernicious practice in later times, which practice had gradually increased, "until the churches had become almost cemeteries." The French have nearly abolished the practice, not without difficulty in some of the provincial towns, where superstition and private interest have arrayed themselves against measures of the most obvious utility.

"The Parliament of Paris, in 1765, required the cemeteries in that capital to be closed against future burials, and their present contents to be removed (with great labour and cost) to the well-known catacombs, excavations which extend under a great portion of the southern faubourgs. These immense caverns (deserted stone quarries) were consecrated in 1786, and the removal of the bodies

commenced ; the bones were conveyed by torchlight in funeral cars, followed by priests chanting the service of the dead. It is certain that the remains of more than three millions of human beings are entombed here—some writers have estimated them at six millions ! In 1790, the National Assembly passed a law, commanding all towns and villages to discontinue the use of the old burial-places, and to form others at a distance from their habitations. This has been completely carried into effect in Paris by the formation of four large cemeteries without the barrières, including Père-la-chaise."

All that belongs, however, to the history of the subject, either ancient or modern, is rather curious than useful, except in as far as too many persons are influenced, rather by authority than evidence, and they prefer to know that the institution they are urged to adopt formerly existed, and has only fallen into abeyance, rather than to take up with something quite new, or with an innovation, which, however useful, is supported merely on the ground of recent experiments and demonstration. People are inclined to do that which others do, or which others have done, rather than to do that which is strictly but merely useful.

It is one of the conditions of health, that atmospheric air should be in a certain degree of purity ; its component parts of oxygen, nitrogen, with a little carbonaceous and aqueous matter, must be in definite ratios, and without further commixtures, to be salubrious. Air in motion is more salubrious than air at rest ; human lungs deteriorate the air, which is more readily relieved of its corruptions by being moved about, for it then mingles with the purer masses which are in the upper and surrounding atmosphere, and becomes infinitely diluted. Low and moist places, by sending forth their peculiar gaseous products, injure the air for the purposes of animal life. Even the process of tillage, with the manure that is used, and the vital and chemical influences of vegetable growth, as well as vegetable and animal decomposition, injure the air ; certain soils even, by their chemical and physical properties, alter the salubrity of the air. Some localities are eminently healthy, where there is the exact adaptation of soil, heat, wind, and dryness, and freedom from excessive cultivation. An examination was made some time since, respecting the comparative salubrity of certain districts, and the most healthy were found to be those where there is little tillage ; upland tilled lands were found more healthy than low verdant flats ; but of all places, densely-peopled towns were found to be the most unhealthy. The mere aggregation of multitudes of people, causes a rapid deterioration of the air. Although London is but a small speck in the vast aerial ocean above and around it, and although it occupies but a few feet of vertical elevation in an

atmosphere which is said to rise many miles, yet it is found practically that flowing through its sinuous streets, and pent up in the countless little cells where its myriads toil like clusters of coral-insects at the bottom of the sea, the air, by constant inspiration, as well as other causes, is polluted and deteriorated faster than it can be purified, by commixture with the circumambient mass. It is found that some parts of London are less healthy than others, and that those kinds of fever which are produced by corrupt air, abound more in those parts where there is the greatest aggregation of human beings, in narrow streets, and in blind courts and alleys. It is not possible, chemically, to measure the relative insalubrity of the air; though it will vary from being the means of certain and speedy death, as in the instance of the black hole at Calcutta, up to a scarcely appreciable tenuity of degradation, as in the metropolitan parks, where the air is *comparatively* good, but not nearly as salubrious as that which wafts to our noses the delicious perfume of the wild flowers on Hayes-Common or Chislehurst. The very presence of the living crowds of the metropolis is cause enough of corruption of the air, even although all the inhabitants should be the best ordered and the most cleanly. It is, therefore, the supreme duty of a municipality to be strenuously vigilant that there be no other agents to taint the air but those which are inseparable from the circumstance of crowds of living beings constantly using it. The most trifling addition to the causes of such deterioration is worthy of attention. The mere straightness and the direction of streets have much to do with the purity of the air. Streets should be continuous, and not terminated at short distances by other streets blocking up the ends by passing at right angles. Compare the New road with York street, which runs parallel to it at the distance of a few yards. The former is continuous, and open at either extremity, while the latter is crossed by houses at both ends. The air in the one will be clear, and the sun bright, at the same moment the other is filled with smoke and fog. No buildings should on any account be constructed without efficient sewers, and closed places for the reception of offal; no exposed surface of decomposing matter should be suffered to eliminate its gases into the air, which the next moment will be imbibed by human lungs; no houses should be built to which there is not a constant supply of good water; nor should dwellings (not even workhouses or prisons) be placed, under any circumstances, in a locality of known and unquestionable unwholesomeness. We remember walking with a surgeon in a country town, for its size one of the most unhealthy in England, when, pointing to a row of houses then in the course of erection, he said, "Those houses are

being built without hollow foundations, or any kind of drainage, on the clay land near to the river—plump upon the wet earth; and I shall have plenty to do when they are occupied, for the inhabitants will have fever in abundance.” People are not now allowed by law to abide in out-houses and shambles, nor should they be permitted to reside in dwellings unwholesome to themselves, and prejudicial to the public health; or rather, the law should not allow builders to erect any but such dwellings as are wholesome, as far as present knowledge and art will admit. There would then be fewer houses in the metropolis, and fewer families, but they would be much more healthy, and consequently more happy. The salubrity of London, in addition to those agents which have been mentioned, is impaired by its being built on a clay sub-soil, occupying a portion of the broad and moist valley of the Thames. Its coal-fires too, emitting a mass of smoke, which, sustained by the heat of the city below, and condensed by cold at a variable elevation above, stretched and hovering over its whole extent (from Greenwich even beyond Hammersmith), lies like a huge pall, which confines and represses the unhealthy emanations from beneath, and keeps the air well nigh saturated with them. The burial-ground is the most decided place of maleficent influence. To the necessary degradation of the air by the living, is wantonly and unnecessarily added, the decomposition of the dead, whose gaseous products in the open country would be directly neutralized by mixing immediately with the surrounding atmosphere, or they would be seized and fixed in the processes of vegetable action, and become less unhealthy and much more agreeable, which in a city lie accumulating and lurking at the base of the walls which confine them, rise slowly into the upper air, or rather disperse themselves horizontally into the streets, alleys, houses, and finally into the lungs of the people. In the city there is no living laboratory of vegetable organism to convert the poison of the dead into the healthy tissues of life, but it floats about freely, and becomes to animal life, when combined with it, the cause of disease, decrepitude, and death.

The process of decomposition is so minute, and is carried on so secretly, in the molecules of the body, that its rationale is not very well understood. “On peut assurer que leur histoire est encore à faire malgré les travaux isolés dont ils ont été l’objet,” says a French chemist. Its ultimate results are, however, obvious enough.

“The chemical constitution of the soil seems to have little influence in retarding or accelerating decomposition, the two most active agents in hastening this process are air and moisture. Accordingly

we find that the greater the depth from the surface at which a body is interred, the longer it resists putrefaction, and it will remain unchanged for a considerable period if enclosed in a leaden coffin, so as altogether to exclude the air. The action of the earth depends in a great measure on its power of absorbing and retaining moisture: thus, in sandy soils, through which the water drains quickly, decomposition goes on slowly, and is sometimes altogether prevented, as in cases where people have perished in deserts, and have been overwhelmed by the drifting sands, in which their bodies have been found long after, dry and shrivelled, but without any sign of having undergone putrefaction. In clayey soils, which retain water, putrefaction readily takes place, and quickly proceeds, to the destruction of all the soft parts, unless transformation into *adipocire* takes place, which stops decomposition. Bodies may change in three ways, as the result of decomposition; first, the putrefactive process may go on uninterruptedly till the soft parts are destroyed, and only the skeleton remains; secondly, the flesh may be converted into *adipocire*; thirdly, the body may become dried, and preserve its form, and be converted into a sort of natural mummy. This last change sometimes takes place in very dry and elevated situations, but more frequently in dry vaults and caves.”—(‘Penny Cyclopædia,’ Art. ‘Interment.’)

The gaseous products of decomposition diffused through the atmosphere are not, it is true, appreciable by chemical tests, for even air collected on the tops of mountains, and in the foulest corners of a town, shows the same proportion of oxygen and nitrogen, yet this only proves that our tests are not sufficiently delicate. The living human heart and lungs are a much more delicate test than any inanimate matter, and when these are rendered abnormally susceptible by disease or other causes, the very slightest change of air is detected by them. That remarkable being, Caspar Hauser, whose organization was very much more susceptible than that of other persons, and who afforded a test much more delicate than an air thermometer or a torsion balance, affords a striking exposition of the effects of corrupted air. It is related in his life, that when he passed on one occasion, in the autumn of 1828, near St. John’s Churchyard, in the vicinity of Nuremberg, the smell of the dead bodies, of which his companions had no perception, affected him so powerfully that he was seized with an ague, and began to shudder. The ague was soon succeeded by a feverish heat, which at length caused a violent perspiration, by which his linen was thoroughly wetted. When he returned towards the city gate, he said he felt better, yet he complained that his sight was obscured. What would have been the effect produced upon this being, of so delicate a nervous susceptibility, had he

passed by the crowded burial-places in the most densely-peopled districts of London? Although these violent effects are not produced upon people in general, yet the same gases are eliminated in greater abundance from the thousands of dead bodies in London, which become mixed with the air, and are breathed by the people, incorporated with their blood, and thus the very putrefactions of the dead become parts of the living. In the case of Caspar Hauser, a living chemical test was applied, of such exquisite sensibility, that the presence and noxious qualities of these agents were manifested. The difference between the effects produced upon him and upon other human beings, is one rather of degree than of kind; the emanations are equally poisonous and destructive to health, but most persons are better able, being less sensitive, to withstand them.

The pestiferous effects of decomposition have been demonstrated by "Dr Majendie, who has shown, by experiment, that this decomposition produces a poison which, when concentrated, produces instant death by a single exhalation; and that even when diluted by the atmosphere, and spread over a large extent of country, it is the fruitful source of disease and death. By cold and other agents he condensed some of this poison, and found that by applying it to an animal previously in good health, he destroyed life, with the most intense symptoms of malignant fever. Ten or twelve drops of water containing this matter, were injected into the jugular vein of a dog; in a short time it was seized with acute fever, the action of the heart was inordinately excited, the respiration accelerated, the heat of the surface increased, the prostration of strength extreme, the muscular power so exhausted that the animal lay on the ground unable to make the slightest movement; after a period it was seized with the black vomit, so characteristic of yellow fever; and what is still more remarkable is the fact, that by varying the dose of the poison, he could produce fever of almost any type. When diffused in the atmosphere, this poison taken into the lungs, or absorbed by the larger surface of the skin, enters the blood, and produces diseases of varying malignity, modified by the producing causes, as they are of animal or vegetable origin. Thus, when the poison from marshes, or decayed vegetable matters, is employed, intermittent fevers, as ague, and remittent fevers, are produced; but when the poison from decomposing animal matter is employed, typhus, and the class of fevers which are marked by a diminution of power in all the functions of the body, and a general disposition to putrescency, both in the solids and fluids, invariably follow."

Dr Armstrong observes, "I believe that putrid matter, introduced into the blood, produces an affection so exactly resembling typhus fever, that I should think no individual could confidently pronounce that it differed from typhus fever."

Dr Mead, speaking of Grand Cairo, says, "This city is crowded



with vast numbers of inhabitants, who live not only poorly, but nastily; the streets are narrow and close; the city is situated in a sandy plain at the foot of a mountain, which keeps off the winds that might refresh the air; a great canal passes through the city, which, at the overflowing of the Nile, is full of water; on the decrease of the river, this canal is gradually dried up, and the people throw into it all manner of filth, offal, &c. &c. The stench which arises from this and the mud together is intolerable, and from this source the plague every year preys upon the inhabitants, and is stopped only by the return of the Nile, the overflowing of which washes away this load of filth. In Ethiopia the swarms of locusts breed a famine by devouring the fruits of the earth, and when they die, create a pestilence by the stench of their putrefying bodies. The Egyptians of old were so sensible how much the putrefaction of dead bodies contributed towards breeding the plague, that they worshipped the bird Ibis for the services it did in devouring great numbers of serpents, which, they had observed, injured by their stench when dead as much as by their bite when alive."

Mr Walker adduces the following cases in illustration of the effects produced by the gases generated during the "*first periods* of decomposition :—

"In the month of June, 1825, a woman died of typhus fever in the upper part of a house in Drury lane. The body, which was buried on the fourth day, was brought down a narrow staircase. In order that the coffin might pass the more easily into the street, it was placed for a few minutes in the doorway of a room on the second floor, inhabited by Lewis Swalthey, a shoe-maker, who was sensible of a most disgusting odour, which proceeded from the coffin. He complained almost immediately of a peculiar coppery taste, which he described as being seated at the root of the tongue and the back of the throat: in a few hours afterwards he had, at irregular intervals, slight sensations of chilliness, which before the next sunset had merged into repeated shiverings of considerable intensity; that evening he was confined to his bed; he passed through a most severe form of typhus fever; at the expiration of the third week, he was removed to the fever hospital, and recovered. This man had been in excellent health up to the time he was exposed to this malaria.

"A patient of mine was exposed some years since to a similar influence. A stout muscular man died in his house in the month of June, after a short illness. On bringing the body down stairs, a disgustingly fetid sanies escaped from the coffin; Mr M. was immediately affected with giddiness, prostration of strength, and extreme lassitude; he had a peculiar metallic taste in his mouth, which continued some days; he believes that his health has been deranged from this cause.

"I offer the following proofs of the effects of the gases produced

by the extreme degree of putrefaction:—My pupil, Mr J. H. Sutton, accompanied by an individual for many years occasionally employed in the office of burying the dead, entered the vaults of St. — Church; a coffin ‘cruelly bloated,’ as one of the grave-diggers expressed it, was chosen for the purpose of obtaining a portion of its gaseous contents. The body had, by an inscription on the plate, been buried upwards of eight years; the instant the small instrument employed had entered the coffin, a most horribly offensive gas issued forth in large quantities. Mr Sutton, who respired a portion of this vapour, would have fallen, but for the support afforded by a pillar in the vault. He was instantly seized with a suffocating difficulty of breathing, giddiness, trembling, and extreme prostration of strength; in attempting to leave the vault he fell, from debility; on reaching the external air, he had nausea, vomiting, accompanied with frequent flatulent eructations highly fetid, and having the same character as the gas inspired. He reached home with difficulty, and was confined to his bed during seven days, and for many days his gait was very vacillating. The man who accompanied him was affected in a precisely similar way, and was incapacitated for work for some days; his symptoms were, prostration of strength, pains in the head, giddiness, and general involuntary action of the muscles, particularly of the upper limbs: these symptoms had been experienced by this person on many previous occasions. I myself have suffered from the same cause, and have been compelled to keep my room upwards of a week.”

“New Bunhill fields, in the New Kent road, is a private speculation, and belongs to a Mr Martin, an undertaker. At its entrance is a chapel, arched with strong brick-work, containing one thousand eight hundred coffins, and not more than twelve, I believe, are of lead. Iron gratings are placed on each side of the vault: A strong ammoniacal odour pervades it, not so offensive as in most other depositories of this description, which I attribute to the constant transmission of the noxious vapours through the open gratings to the circumambient atmosphere,” that atmosphere which is the food as it were of the passengers, and inhabitants of the many houses that surround it.

In what state of neglect are the municipal regulations of London, when burial-places are under no official control, and when any private speculator may prepare a cellar for the packing away of dead bodies (the burial-place just described is only a cellar), and let off the gaseous decomposition into the streets? If a dye-house, chemical or gas works, were to let off matters into the streets much less prejudicial, but visible, the law would soon stop the nuisance.

It seems that even the lordly and royal inhabitants of Westminster are not less infested with ill-conditioned burial-grounds than their poorer subjects, for *close upon Buckingham Palace*

is a chapel, the vaults and grounds of which send forth in abundance pestiferous exhalations to mix with the air, and lurk over the dainty viands of the rich and luxurious, the royal and the noble. A poor shepherd on Salisbury Plain, sitting beside a hill, eats a morsel of bread permeated by no such offensive particles as those which penetrate the food of the royal palace.

One of the most striking examples is afforded by the death of two men (one a grave-digger) in the church-yard of St Botolph's, Aldgate, September, 1838, who were seized with instant death in a grave about twenty feet deep. It was a pauper's grave,—commonly kept open until there are seventeen or eighteen bodies interred. "It was not the custom," said one of the witnesses, "to put any earth between the coffins in such graves, except in cases where persons die of contagious diseases: grave-diggers could not sometimes go down, owing to the foulness of the air; they are then in the habit of burning straw, and using other means to dispel the impure air." Such is the stench arising from this burial-ground, that in hot weather the inhabitants are obliged to keep their windows closed, thus *shutting in, and again and again breathing air, poisoned by their own lungs, that they may escape a stronger and more malignant poison lurking outside their windows, emitted from the rottenness of a crammed-full ground in the very heart of the city*, and within the jurisdiction of the Corporation of London.

The condition of Enon Chapel is hardly fit for publication; yet how else can sufficient disgust be excited in the mind of the public, so indifferent as yet about its best interests? "This burial-place is surrounded on all sides by houses, crowded principally by poor inhabitants. The upper part of the building is used as a chapel,—the lower part as a burying-place, separated from the upper by a boarded floor, and is crowded at one end even to the ceiling with dead. The rafters supporting the floor are not even covered with the usual defence of lath and plaster. Vast numbers of bodies have been placed here in pits dug for the purpose, the uppermost of which were covered only by a few inches of earth; a sewer runs angularly across this burying place. Soon after interments, a long, narrow, black fly is observed to crawl out of many of the coffins; this insect, a product of the putrefaction of the bodies, is observed on the following season to be succeeded by another, which has the appearance of a common bug with wings. The children attending the Sunday-school, held in this chapel, in which these insects were to be seen crawling and flying in vast numbers during the summer months, called them 'body-bugs.' The stench was frequently intolerable: one of my informants states, that he had a peculiar taste in his

mouth during the time of worship, and that his handkerchief was so offensive that immediately on his return home, it used to be placed in water. Some months since, handbills were circulated, 'requesting parents and others to send the children of the district to the Sunday-school,' *held immediately over the masses of putrefaction in the vaults beneath.* Residents about this spot in warm and damp weather have been much annoyed with a peculiarly disgusting smell; and occasionally, when the fire was lighted in a house abutting upon this building, an intolerable stench arose, which it was believed did not arise from a drain. Vast numbers of rats infest the houses! and meat exposed to the atmosphere after a few hours becomes putrid!"

Affectionate relatives consign their dead to burial-places (to be devoured, in all probability, by rats), who would be excited to riots and violence by interested men, were it proposed by government to remove the dead from this shameful place—known among undertakers as the "dust-hole"—to a place of decent security.

"The effluvia proceeding from the burial-ground in Portugal street, known as the Green-ground, is so offensive, that persons living at the back of Clement's lane are compelled to keep their windows closed; the walls even of the ground which adjoins the yards of those houses, are frequently seen reeking with fluid, which diffuses a most offensive smell. Who can wonder that fever is here so prevalent and triumphant?"

It is really extraordinary, if no other persons had been disposed to take up the matter, that the clergy of the metropolis, and especially that vigorous prelate, the Bishop of London, should have allowed these appalling practices to exist; it is to be feared that they will not interfere till they are constrained to remove the evil from another cause, for their churches and chapels are likely to be deserted as places of worship by timid people who take much care of their health, when it is fully known that the most deadly agents are there present in all their virulence.

In as far as Mr Walker has executed a nauseous task for the public good, he deserves the highest honour; nor would it have been just, either to him or to the public, to have suppressed his evidence because it might appal the sensitive; but it must be reiterated, and added to, until public clamour calls for the extirpation of the evil, and until the sluggish legislature shall stir itself to action, and the clergy—too exclusively occupied with the spiritual health of the people—shall cease to offer opposition.

The remarks of Mr Walker on the "management," as it is called, of burial-grounds, show that decent regard to the remains of the dead,—respect for the coffins, with their emblematic gar-

niture,—all those outward and tangible signs of respect which have been bestowed at so much cost (oftentimes ill afforded), are violated and set at nought equally with the public health itself. The claims of the public health, with respect to sepulture, are hardly less strong than are the claims of surviving friends and relations to decent regard for the remains of the deceased. “Men pay funeral dues, under an implied assurance that the dead shall be respected. The grave is still insecure; grounds accustomed to be held sacred are unceremoniously cleared under official superintendence, and that, too, with such ruthless indifference and wanton publicity, that even passers-by complain of the indecent profanation.” Mr Walker quotes several communications to newspapers from persons who have witnessed the conduct and practices of the managers and their agents.

“In this ‘management,’ former occupancy is disregarded, coffins are remorselessly broken through, and their contents heaped together. On one occasion two men and a boy were observed exhuming the bodies in one part of the burial-ground of Globe-fields Chapel, and hurling them in a most indecent manner and indiscriminately into a deep hole which they had previously made. The police interfered, and as they were about to enter the ground they met a lad with a bag of bones and a quantity of nails: proceeding to an obscure corner, they found a great number of bodies packed one upon another in a very deep grave; the uppermost coffin was not more than seven or eight inches at the utmost from the surface; the breast-plate and nails were removed from the lid, so that they could at once remove the latter; and from the appearance of the body as well as of the coffin, it appeared to be the remains of a person above the middle rank of life, and to have been interred about a month or six weeks. The ground was the property of an undertaker, and owing to the low rate of fees, and protection afforded against resurrection-men (being surrounded by high walls), a great number of burials took place; but as few would select the remote corner as a place of rest for their friends or relations, it was used for the purpose of receiving the disinterred bodies of those buried in the better and more crowded part of the ground, to make room for others. The officers said, that the dreadful stench emitted from the half-decomposed bodies placed in the hole before mentioned, was sufficient to engender disease in the neighbourhood; upon which, the men immediately set about covering them.

“In making a grave in a burying-ground in Southwark, a body partly decomposed was dug up and placed on the surface, at the side slightly covered with earth; a mourner stepped upon it, the loosened skin peeled off, he slipped forward, and had nearly fallen into the grave. At another place, amongst a heap of rubbish, a young woman recognised the finger of her mother, who had been buried there a short time previously. On another occasion the workmen,

digging a grave, broke in upon a common sewer, and deposited the coffin there. The more endurable parts of the human fabric are 'managed' away by sending them on shipboard to the north, where many tons of bones are crushed in mills constructed for the purpose, and used as manure."

A superficial observer might suppose that so soon as such a public nuisance had been exposed, the Government would have taken immediate steps for its abolition. The British Government, however, has other fish to fry, and so it has had for many a long year past; its members are, and have ever been, men of aristocratic habits, who have large salaries to spend in the purchase of various pleasures, and who spend their energies, which ought to be devoted to the public service, in sustaining themselves against their political enemies. The British people have constantly the shameful spectacle before them of public men, who ought to be counselling together for their good, exhausting themselves in a scandalous war for the places of power, and for the profits of place. The evil expounded by Mr Walker, like a multitude of others, will therefore continue, unless some active men shall be urged by a sense of public duty to neglect their own private business, and, by a great expenditure of time and money, stir up the public clamour, and thus enforce a sluggish administration to do that which ought to be undertaken by its own promptings. Were not the profession and the practice of the Corporation of London known now to be widely different, it might be a matter of surprise that a body so immensely rich (expending altogether, for ostensibly local purposes, 540,000*l.* per annum) should have allowed the catastrophe in Aldgate church-yard to have passed without making some attempt to stop the burial of the dead within their city. Mr Deputy Tyars and Sir John Cowan, however, in the true spirit of corporators, merely started a joint-stock cemetery for the north-eastern end of London, by which no doubt some pecuniary advantage was expected.

Any proposed improvement, without some caution, will receive much opposition from the metropolitan clergy. Let, however, the value of their fees\* be secured, and there is little

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\* The following article appeared in the 'Examiner' a few months ago, and indicates the preliminary measures that must be taken to stop powerful opposition:—

"INFLUENCE OF CLERICAL FEES ON HEALTH.—At a late meeting of the Geographical Society it was stated, that 'among the diseases of the Indians in South America, the small pox was the most prevalent and destructive, and out of a population of 240,000 souls no less than 30,000 fell victims in four months. This prevalence is attributed to the circumstance that the clergy will not encourage vaccination, because great part of their revenue is derivable from burial fees.' The influence of clerical fees is also very per-

doubt that the support may be obtained of that astute and vigorous prelate, the Bishop of London, who does not gratuitously resist the improvement of society, although he resolutely supports the interests of the clergy under all circumstances.

The metropolis is of so vast and progressively increasing an extent, that suburban cemeteries, such as those at Paris, will not comport with complete salubrity. We do not quite agree in the unqualified praises bestowed by Mr Walker on the projectors of joint-stock cemeteries; several of those already formed are too near the homes of the living, and they will soon be enfolded within the extending rows of dwellings. They are objectionable also because they occupy some of the most high and beautiful localities, which, where there is so scant an allowance of room, should be appropriated to the habitations of men, or rather set apart for the relaxation of the living, and not walled in as places of sepulture. Had the health and comfort of the dense population of London and its environs been protected by intelligent and honourable municipal bodies, such beautiful spots as Norwood, Highgate, and Kensal green would never have been seized by projectors, and for their profit have been devoted to the worm of corruption;—private cupidity has misappropriated for the dead places which should have been sacredly preserved for the living.

There are now four or five railways diverging from various parts of London: some of them pass through, or are contiguous to, districts admirably adapted for burial-grounds. The Government should take advantage of this fact, and construct at least four cemeteries on a magnificent scale, some eight or ten miles from the centre of the metropolis. The Southampton railway passes through a great extent of almost worthless land, some of which at Wimbledon, or even beyond Kingston, is admirably suited for the proposed purpose. Funeral carriages duly prepared, should start at fixed hours and days, by slow trains. The cost of transit and of inhumation should be fixed, and at a very low price; indeed, so important is it that the actual cost of the burial of the dead should be of small amount, and that all excuse should be removed for persisting in the use of any, even suburban cemeteries, that we think it desirable that it should be paid for by the state, allowing families to expend any sum they please additionally, for the purposes of taste or splen-

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icious on the public health in London, where the horrid and pestiferous practice of burying the dead in the most crowded districts is persevered in, to perpetuate their burial fees. Future ages will discover some singular examples of the civilization of the nineteenth century in several parts of the world.

dour; but the removal of the dead body itself should be a matter of police or of state regulation. All the burial-grounds in and about the metropolis should be cleared of their contents in a decent manner, and the present horrid nuisance of sepulture be abolished for ever. Let reasonable compensation be given to all parties,—shareholders, grave-diggers, clergymen; but the *salus populi* demands, at any cost, the immediate adoption of some such plan as is proposed.

Interested and misguided persons may raise a cry about the sacredness of sepulture which the proposed plan would outrage. That sacredness is already violated, and in the most disgusting manner,—which violation it is proposed to abolish, and instead of the indecencies committed under “management,” to make the needful removal once and for ever, and that in a solemn manner, under the control of clergymen and proper officers. Surely, all the emotions of piety and affection, all the steady, lingering remembrances with which we regard the grave—the last home of our mother, our wife, our child—are now sadly offended, when the place to which we have consigned the remains of those who in recollection still continue part of our own being, is in a back yard of some miserable street, or among workshops, smithies, laundries, brewhouses, bakehouses, butchers’ shambles (see p. 149), close upon taverns, down in some cellar, abutting upon our stores of various merchandize, or in the midst of the clatter of omnibuses, carts, and drays, and in the very densest throng of thousands of pedestrians.\* A metropolitan burial-ground is as offensive to our most delicate sentiments as it is to our bodily health. Martin Van Butchel exhibited a poetic refinement when he embalmed his wife, dressed her neatly, placed her in a smart coffin with a glass plate in front, and kept her in quietness in an attic of his house,—compared with the citizen who deposits his spouse in such a back yard as has been described, whence she is likely to be ejected after a few weeks or months of tenancy, cast about the ground to be mutilated or trodden upon, or pitched into a corner, or carted away as rubbish; her coffin chopped up for fire-wood, its cloth and garniture sold for the profit of grave-diggers. It is proposed to stop this horrid desecration of the dead, and to serve at the same time some of the highest objects of

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\* An advertisement appeared some time since in the ‘Morning Chronicle,’ stating that the church of St Bartholomew will be taken down, and that the governor and company of the Bank have proposed to erect a mausoleum on a part of the consecrated ground. How poetic must be the imagination of the Bank directors! Erect a mausoleum at the corner of Threadneedle street!



public utility; and yet against all this, no doubt, loud clamour will be raised.

Mr Walker is one of the few useful men who have performed an investigation where little or no glory can be obtained, and where the rewards are few, other than those derived from the consciousness of doing good. Speculative reformers, the bold and abstract schemers for new-modelling society, may display a grandiloquence that will fill the public ear, and bring much glory to themselves. Those who, like our author, would destroy a tangible evil or remove a local nuisance, will get little or no public approbation, but will raise up a host of determined and unflinching enemies, whose interests are assailed, and who will be much more resolute to defend and sustain the wrong done to the public, than the public is resolute to rid itself of the wrong. Every man takes care of himself, no matter at what price to the public. The public has neither time nor inclination to look after matters which are, however, really and truly its own business, as, for example, the protection of the public health and comfort.

The subject has been well opened, and it ought not now to be dropped. Some member of Parliament (who more fitting than Mr C. Buller or Mr Hawes?) should move the appointment of a committee or commission of inquiry, and bring forth an additional body of evidence that should shame into silence the superstitious and the mercenary. If the Government forget its duty, the intelligent and honest members of Parliament should do theirs, and show to the world where the neglect lies, and for what small services the public money is expended in princely salaries.

J. H. E.

ART. XI.—*The Seventh Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners.* 1841.

2. *The New Moral World.* By Robert Owen. Pallmall. 1841.

3. *The Anti-Socialist Gazette.* Nisbett. 1841.

4. *The Journal of the Working Classes.* Painter. 1841.

IT would neither harmonize with our tastes or opinions to make any long profession of our attachment to the working classes. The principles upon which our work was established, and on which it has been conducted, are a sufficient guarantee to the public mind that we cannot but sympathize with those who form the basis of society in this country, and whose welfare, both moral and physical, is indispensable to the happiness and progress of the whole nation.

Nor do we think it necessary to defend ourselves, in the course we are taking, from the vain and idle charges which will be brought against us by the apologists for existing wrongs, and by the advocates of old and hereditary errors. They will doubtless accuse us of exciting the public mind, of agitating society, of throwing impediments in the way of the Government of Sir Robert Peel, and of casting new and inflammable matter into the volcano which is groaning beneath us, and threatening to throw out lava, fire, and death. We have no such objects to accomplish, no such end to desire. The distinctions of society we acknowledge and respect. The rich man must have his mansion, the poor man his cottage. The industrious, prudent, and intelligent labourer should, in all well-regulated communities, be able to rise, to accumulate his gains, to appropriate them according to his taste or judgment, to enjoy that appropriation, and to ascend in the scale of material as well as of intellectual improvement. But there are *two* ways in which he should be able thus to ascend. *First*, from the absence of all laws acting as impediments to him, and preventing his advance; and *second*, from the existence of such a physical or material state of things as will admit of his doing so. We will illustrate these propositions.

The Duke of Wellington asserted, in his seat in the House of Lords, during the last short Session of Parliament, that he had travelled in many lands, and observed the condition of the labouring classes in all of them, and that he *must* declare, that in no country were those classes so free to labour, and to dispose of their labour, to make the most of their labour, and to rise from one class or order to another class or order, until they reached the highest class, as in the British dominions. That is to say, that in no country which the Duke has visited is there so perfect an absence of all laws and impediments in the way of the advancement of the working man as in Great Britain. There is always a difficulty, and a want of earnestness and truthfulness in these *comparative* propositions, because it is rarely the case that those to whom they were addressed are able to enter at once into the correctness of the statements. Nor is much proved by them, even where they are true, since they only amount to this, that in a cell of condemned felons one may differ from another in the deeper and darker shades of their still all-deplorable and guilty characters. In this case, however, we are willing to admit that the principles of a constitutional monarchy must be more favourable to the development and reward of genius and industry than those of an absolute and despotic government, though the Duke would be not so willing to make a

rule-of-three sum of his proposition, and say, If a constitutional monarchy secures a certain amount of protection and advantage to a working man, how much would be secured by a more popular and representative Government? But should we grant his Grace all the benefit he can derive from an admission of the truth of his proposition, it would not enable him to show the existence of the other necessary element for the progress and improvement of the working man, viz., of such a physical or material state of things as will allow him to avail himself of the benefit of the laws which admit of that improvement, and of that progress. We can imagine the Duke saying to a Leeds operative, in the Holbeck ward, where there are 259 families, consisting of 912 individuals, wholly unemployed, that there is no country like England for the labouring classes, and that there is nothing to prevent him from becoming as wealthy and as influential as himself. This would be heartless and cruel irony: for would not the man reply, "I have no work, I have no wages, I have no clothing, I have no means of existence; my health and constitution are fast sinking; and but for the bread and the water of the charitable, I should ere this have expired." It is not enough for the Leeds operative to know that the laws of the country do not make him a slave, if those laws have made him a beggar; that the laws of the country do not prevent him from disposing of his free labour, if they have directly or indirectly deprived him of the means of existence. To tell a man who has surplus income arising from his labour, after having fed, lodged, clothed, and instructed himself, his wife, and his children, that he should think himself happy in being born in a country where he can appropriate the produce of his free labour as he shall think fit, might be unnecessary, but would not be either a foolish or a cruel act; but to tell a man who has *no income at all*, and who never knows, when he crouches on his straw at night, where he shall procure the dry crust and the sorry and single meal of the morrow, that he has the happiness of belonging to a country where labour is free, is a cold and heartless insult offered to the miseries and woes of thousands. We do not accuse the Duke of Wellington of having any such intention. He speaks from the impulse of the moment. He has read man and society backwards. The basis of *his* society is wealth, not industry; the privileged, not the working classes. All the *rights* possessed by the mass, few though they be, he looks upon in the light of concessions made by the former to the latter classes, and is surprised that men should not be happy and contented, when the laws do not directly and positively inflict on them the name of slaves.

There is a mighty evil connected with the condition of the working classes in this country which has to be met, exposed, and overcome. That evil is the following:—The upper and even the middling classes have been so long habituated to the knowledge of the existence of misery, want, and privation, that they ask, with indolent or vapid indifference, when pressed upon to consider the whole question, “What is there *new*, then, that we have not heard of?” Is there anything *particular* to which you refer?” Tell them that an agricultural labourer, who toils twelve, and sometimes fourteen, hours per day in cold, rain, frost, sun, fog—alternately frozen, bleached, and drenched—earns for his week’s labour, for the support of himself, his wife, and four young children, none of them able to leave the hut in which they reside without their mother accompanying them, the wretched pittance of TWELVE SHILLINGS;—and they will answer, “Oh! that has been the price for a long time past—is that all?” No—it is not all; for these men shall hear how these twelve shillings are expended; and then when they look on their own purple and fine linen, their own tables groaning with luxuries, and see their own eyes stand out with fatness, let the bill of fare of the insufficiently paid labourer stare them in the face:—

	s.	d.
Rent .....	2	0
Flour .....	5	0
Cheese .....	0	7
Tea.....	0	7
Potatoes.....	0	10
Sugar .....	0	7
Bacon .....	0	8
Candles and Soap.....	0	7
Wood or Coals .....	1	2
	<hr/>	
	12	0

No butter—no milk—no meat—no red herrings even—no clothing—no medicine for the children—no shoes or boots—no provision put by for the times when the husband may be unable to work from sickness or accident;—and yet the twelve shillings are GONE! Yes, gone;—and in what? In insufficient food for the body.

We visited lately fifty of such cases. There are 500,000 more to be looked to, and 500,000 more beyond them. So here is a population—and in England too, and in some of our best districts—existing on bread, potatoes, with no meat, beer, milk, from year’s end to year’s end, but two ounces of tea and a pound of moist sugar for husband, and wife, and four children, for a whole week; and this normal state is viewed not only without horror, but even with a sort of complacency, by those who

inquire, "Is there anything *new*?" Yes—it is *new* in the history of the world that an enlightened, industrious, indefatigable peasantry should exist on such fare, and should brook such a state of being.

When the attention of the privileged classes is directed to the condition of the *unemployed*—to those who cannot get work, though willing, as at PAISLEY—to labour at so reduced a price of wages as only to earn *six shillings per week* as a compensation for fourteen hours of indefatigable occupation on the part of an intelligent and industrious weaver, they will occasionally stop for a moment in their restless pursuit of wealth, pleasure, or fame, and bestow a donation to the famishing, or an exclamation of surprise and pity. They "fear commotion;" they express "a sincere hope that the public peace will not be disturbed," and have "*no doubt* that Sir Robert will take active measures to prevent riots!" But tell these same men, as we do now, that the constant, the perpetual state, during some years past, of the English agricultural poor, is disgraceful to the name and character of the British nation, and they will turn on their heels with the heartless exclamation of, "Oh! how much better they are off than the *Irish* peasantry." This is consolation with a vengeance.

What are the natural and just demands of an active and honest labourer? A home—food—firing—clothing—education; and a provision, saved by himself, against old age. A home, wind and water proof;—firing of turf, or wood, or coal, by no means large or extravagant; food,—meat, potatoes, bread, tea, milk, and water or beer; clothing, simple, plain, but sound and whole; education for his children—to read, write, and cast accounts; and a provision for old age of at least 30*l.* per annum. Is this excessive? Let us ask those whose incomes amount in *one day* to a sum more than sufficient to maintain *one hundred such families for a year*, whether *they* think such demands excessive? They will perhaps reply, "The condition of the agricultural classes in England is no worse than they are in other countries; for example, in France, Switzerland, or Belgium." We deny this allegation, and upon this subject we will join issue.

*In France*, if not everywhere, at least very generally, an agricultural labourer will earn 18 francs—often more—*per week*. How does he spend it?

	<i>fr. sous.</i>
Bent.....	1 0
Flour .....	3 0
Meat .....	3 0
Coffee.....	1 0
Milk.....	0 16

	<i>fr. sous.</i>
Sugar .....	0 16
Beer, or Wine, or Cider, three bottles .....	0 18
Candles and Soap .....	0 15
Wood .....	1 0
Butter .....	1 0
Clothing .....	2 10
Cheese .....	0 15
Extras and Savings Bank .....	1 10
	<hr/>
	<i>francs</i> 18 0

Now, this man has bread, meat, butter, cheese, wine or beer, candles and soap, coffee, milk, and sugar, as well as clothing, extras, and something for the Savings Bank, out of his eighteen francs, or fourteen shillings and sixpence per week. How is this? Examine three of the items of the account, and we shall see.

The Englishman pays for rent, 2s.

The Frenchman pays for rent, 1 franc or 10d.

The Englishman pays for bread or flour, 5s.

The Frenchman pays for bread or flour, of the same quality and quantity, 3 francs, or 2s. 6d.

The Englishman receives for wages, 12s.

The Frenchman receives for wages, 14s. 6d.

Thus on these *three* items of wages, rent, and bread, the Frenchman has the advantage over the Englishman of SIX SHILLINGS AND TWO-PENCE! No wonder, then, that the bill of fare of the French labourer is so much more inviting and satisfactory than that of our own farming population.

"But are the agricultural poor in France satisfied with *their* condition?" asks Colonel Sibthorp, or some other thick and thin Tory. We answer unhesitatingly, that they are *not* satisfied. But what then? If this reply can serve the Sibthorpians, we have no objection to their having the benefit of our answer, but *we* think it has quite another signification. If the working farmer in France is *not* satisfied with 18 francs per week, and with the many little comforts he enjoys, is it astonishing that the same class in England would be made *more* dissatisfied still? But the labouring agriculturist in France we do not condemn. He complains of the low rate of his wages, of the extravagance of the Government, of the little attention paid to the education of the children of the poor, of the taxation of the necessities of life, of the little security given to him by the laws for his individual liberty, and of those taxes which press in an especial manner on the poor man. It is no matter of surprise to us that he is not satisfied;—but then how greatly are we *borne* out in our feeling of surprise at the great submission of our own farming population to their far worse state of subjection and misery.

In Switzerland, that is in the principal and leading Cantons,

labour is still better paid, and provisions are yet cheaper. In some Cantons the peasantry might be subjects of envy on the part of our middling classes; and though in a few their condition is less strikingly advantageous, it is a fact that such Cantons are those where the Governments, though nominally popular, are priest-ridden or despotic. A Swiss peasant has three substantial meals per diem. He drinks good wine, eats excellent beef, has a large supply of fruit and vegetables, and is clothed not only warmly, but gaily and cheerily.

And who has travelled over the Low Countries, whether landing at Ostend and pursuing his course to Aix La Chapelle, or landing at Antwerp and crossing the country to the north of France, and has not observed with delight the comparative ease and comfort of the agricultural poor? Their houses are well warmed; their kitchens are not the guard-rooms of cold heavy bread and suet puddings, with bad potatoes and cold water, but of meat, vegetables, and excellent soup and beer. They can afford it.

And we are not to be sneered or balked out of these facts by the idle and vain boastings about "our matchless Constitution," or "our wooden walls." We can appreciate national pride, and estimate national grandeur; but the labouring man can no more feed on patriotism than can those persons whose names constitute the long and sad list of our public pensioners. It is then *wholly* incorrect to assert that our English agricultural labourers are in a condition at all parallel to those of France, Belgium, or Switzerland.

There is not a step, but simply a hair's breadth, between the condition of our agricultural labourers and pauperism; for, although the labour of our parish stone-yards and Unions is more dependent and less remunerated, than that of the free labour of those who keep themselves aloof from the parish, yet such is the actual condition of the farming men of this country, to say nothing of Ireland, that if only sickness during a few weeks assail them, or they lose employment for the same length of time, they have nothing to fall back upon; but the large district receptacles for the sick, the furnishing, and the infirm.

And when we have taken as our basis of calculation twelve shillings per week as the rate of agricultural labour, we have adopted a *maximum* which it would be impossible for us to sustain. We know that threshers seldom earn less, and often more; but we also know that the wages of ploughmen and waggoners are very often much inferior, and that if English agricultural labour could now be averaged, it would *not* amount to more than ten shillings and sixpence per family, *i.e.*, for the support of a man,

his wife, and three or four small children. Nor is it any reply to our statement to say, that when sons grow up to the age of from thirteen to eighteen or twenty, before they leave the paternal roof altogether, they also contribute their lesser wages to the general stock. They do so, we admit; but then five shillings' worth of flour and bread will not suffice for *their* large appetites. Cheese, tea, potatoes, sugar, soap, must all be augmented; and the extra wages only supply a larger quantity of the same cold and inadequate nutriment.

We take then our stand, with reference to the agricultural labourers of this country, on this ground:—1st. Their wages are too low. 2nd. Their provisions are too dear. 3rd. Their food and mode of life are little removed from pauperism.

We are now pleading the case of the *employed* poor. It is not enough for us to hear that such and such a man is employed;—we ask, how many hours does he labour? what are his wages? what his family? what the cost of provisions? and *how* does he live, as well as whether he *does* live?

There are some persons who, while they profess to care for and love the poor, are quite in high spirits when they hear that in such and such a district there are not vast numbers of workmen *wholly unemployed*; and that there are not a great many Boltons, Leeds, Paisleys, and Spitalfields in this country. The *Times* is in a state of joyous agony because at *Sheffield* there is not the same amount of unemployed misery as at *Paisley*, and because at *Birmingham* the pressing distresses of the starving and houseless are less multiplied and severe, in comparison with the amount of their relative populations, than at Leeds. But instead of wasting its energies in a hopeless attempt to convince the miserable that they are happy, how much more worthy and dignified would have been its conduct had it sought to grapple with the difficulties under which the working classes are labouring, and to point out remedies for evils which are little short of insupportable.

It does not occur to those persons who are so easily satisfied with the present state of things, provided there be not an enormous amount of surplus *unemployed* labour, that the constant, *permanent* condition of the working classes is one of a most lamentable character. If the agricultural poor complain, they are reminded either that there are poor in all countries and have been in all times, that these distinctions in society are natural and unavoidable, or that their condition is not worse, nor yet so painful as that of the *manufacturing* poor. They are reminded that the air *they* breathe is good, that their few square feet gardens supply them with some potatoes or vegetables, and that



*they* are not infected with the malaria of large towns and cities. The agricultural poor reply, "But of what use is *pure air*, if we have not sufficient food to satisfy our hunger? and of what use are our little gardens, when our natures are gradually sinking and our health declining for want of an adequate amount of nutritious food? Potatoes do not contain much more than *one third* of the nutritive matter that exists in bread, and yet our principal hope of being enabled to meet our unavoidable expenditure for supporting life is by substituting potatoes for bread. Without we do this, the debt we already owe to the country shop will increase, credit will be refused us any longer, we shall get in arrear with our landlord and lose our goods, and then be thrown upon the parish." This is the language of all those who complain.

If the agricultural poor do *not* complain, if—from their scattered and isolated position, they do *not* unite, as the manufacturing and mercantile classes do, either to examine their position or devise means for its improvement, the privileged classes declare "that they are happy and contented, and that the poor have occasional helps, as well as some irregular sources of income, which enable them 'to make both ends meet,' and to shuffle on from year to year until better times and wages shall improve their condition." How often have we been told this by the landed squirearchy of England! Yet how fallacious is the statement. Ask the holders of mortgages on country cottages what *they* think of their securities; ask the landlords of the same cottages what deductions *they* would make from the prime cost of those cottages, if they could but find purchasers; ask country auctioneers what sums are bidden for this description of property when submitted to sale; and all will concur in stating, that every year the value diminishes, and that small freeholds which once were sought for as bringing in low but certain rents, are now refused at any price, since the expense of repairs and the outlay for taxes are not covered by the receipts for rents. Ask country solicitors and conveyancers if any of their clients are disposed to advance money on small freehold cottages inhabited by the poor; and they will reply, that already they would have received orders to foreclose many mortgages not paid off, but that the expense would not be covered either by the purchase monies of the properties if sold, or by the accumulation of the rents, which are next to uncollectable. Ask the receivers of rents and agents for proprietors of small rural property, whether freehold or leasehold, and they will reply, that never in their recollection was such sort of property so depreciated, and that this depreciation goes on with fearful progress every year. And

why? Because the rents are *not paid*. And why? Because agricultural wages are so low that the labourers cannot pay the rents, and because those who purchase property are convinced that this evil is extending. Add to this, that the holders of country shops are *compelled*, in self-defence, to diminish both in number and amount the credit they once gave to the labourer, which credit enabled the labourer to stand well with his landlord; but which credit being now refused compels the labourer to postpone the rent collector, and ultimately not to pay him, since the daily exigencies of his stomach compel the poor man to buy bread, that he may not perish. This also supplies the true and only reason why an agricultural labourer's wife will spend on a Saturday night the *whole* of the twelve shillings received by her husband in articles of fuel, food, light, and cleanliness, leaving *nothing* for rent, clothing, medicine, and sundries.

"How can the poor woman spend the whole of her husband's wages on a Saturday night with you, and leave nothing for her landlord, for shoes, boots, hats, linen, clothes, the doctor, and a hundred other little things?" was a question we lately put in a large agricultural county to a variety of country shopkeepers who sell everything but clothes and medicine to the agricultural poor; and everywhere the answer was the same, if not in words, in effect. It was this:—

"Really we know not how they manage. Two or three years ago we used to give them credit, and then they *paid* their rent; but now times are so bad, and look so gloomy, that we cannot give *any credit at all*. The labourers are therefore obliged to pay for all their food and firing, candles and soap, with their ready money, and trust to Providence for the rest."

"And what is to be the end of all this?" we asked of those practical people. To which they replied, "They were sure they could not tell, for small tradesmen, such as shoemakers, linen-drappers, and factors, were getting worse off every day; and that, as to the rents of the cottages, they would very soon not be paid at all."

It must be borne in mind that in the observations we are now making relative to the condition of the working classes in agricultural districts, we are not instituting or contemplating any comparison between their condition and that of the *manufacturing or commercial* poor. Misery exists everywhere—vast and incalculable misery; but it is more obvious, condensed, palpitating, and fuller of interest to a mere casual observer in the great towns and cities than in the fields, moors, fens, and mountains of our land. Misery in the country is less obvious to the passer by, to the votary of pleasure and dissipation, and even to

the man of leisure and reflection; but it is not the less real. The cottagers of England, once so cheerful and gay, are melancholy and mournful. The voice of singing is never heard within their walls. Their unhappy inmates vegetate on potatoes and hard dumplings, and keep themselves warm with hot water poured over one small teaspoonful of tea, which barely colours the water, and which is administered to the fretful children by their anxious and impoverished parents. We have not taken these statements for granted; we have not fallen into the cry of "Bad times for the agricultural poor" without knowing them to be so; and we are now as well acquainted with the farming labourers' repasts as we are with their miseries. They are ground down by iron and searching poverty, and their meals are neither nutritive in quality nor adequate in solid amount.

If we wanted any additional evidence of the growing privations of the people, we might take it from the reports of the Registrar-General, exhibiting the increasing rate of mortality, and confirm that by the returns from the last Census, showing that population in some counties is decreasing, and that nowhere is it increasing in the ratio observed when the former Census was taken. Mr Porter estimated the rate of mortality in 1830 as 1 in 58; it is now 1 in 45.36. The deaths in 1839-40 exceed those of the preceding year by 19,094. Of these 11,052 were deaths of children under five years of age,\*—a striking fact; for in times when the pinch of want is unusually severe, children of tender age are naturally the first to suffer. The want of proper warmth and clothing through a long and dreary winter is death to them, though the parents may live through it. How many sickly children have perished from the inability of the mother to purchase for them a pair of shoes that in cold and damp weather would have kept their feet dry!

Emigration is proposed. It may meet for the moment many pressing evils, but it is an expedient, not a cure. The evil lies deep in the very heart of our present state of social regulations and institutions, and no palliatives will be permanently beneficial. Our object will be accomplished if by the preceding observations we shall have roused the attention of the public to the state of our agricultural poor, and to the facts connected generally with the misery and the woes of the working classes.

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\* See No. 3 of a very useful sixpenny periodical, sold by Hooper, entitled 'Facts and Figures.'

## CRITICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

## CHANCERY REFORM.

THE NEW ORDERS FOR THE REGULATION OF THE PRACTICE AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE COURT OF CHANCERY, ISSUED BY THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR 26 AUGUST, 1841.

THE NEW ORDERS, &c., WITH REMARKS ON THEIR EFFECT ON THE PRESENT PRACTICE OF THE COURT; AND SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR REFORMING THE SAID COURT. By John Sidney Smith, of the Six Clerks' Office.

PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE NEW ORDERS, &c. By Edmund Robert Daniell, F.R.S., Barrister-at-law.

ORDER OF NOVEMBER 19, 1841, FOR SUSPENDING THE FIRST FIVE ORDERS OF AUGUST.

NEW ORDER IN CHANCERY RELATING TO DISTINGUISHING ON STOCK. November 17, 1841.

NEW ORDER IN CHANCERY FOR DIVISION OF THE JUDICIAL BUSINESS. November, 1841.

To the late Lord Chancellor belongs the honour of having declaimed less and done more on the subject of equity reform than any one of his predecessors. The evidence which he brought out in the Lords' Committee two years ago—the bill for abolishing the equity Exchequer, and appointing two new equity judges, which he all but carried through, and the orders of August last, which he left behind him, have been most important measures with reference to improvements in the business of the court. Lord Cottenham was yet not, in our view, by nature fitted for a reformer of the law. His talents are judicial rather than legislative. While in the business of a judge—in the downward application of general rules to particular cases—in the *art* of procedure, he is out of all denial one of the greatest men who ever sat upon the bench, we cannot but think that in more legislative exercises, in the upward process, from the individual case and its hardships, to the general rule as it should exist, by which process alone any science of procedure can be worked out, he must have felt himself far less at home. To this we attribute the great slowness and caution with which he proceeded in his equity reforms, and the little progress he made in them. They were all, however, real, and of the true sort.

It would be out of place here to go into any minute criticism on the orders. We will attempt to give such an account of them as will enable our unlearned readers to understand their general scope.

The first five orders are evidently fragmentary. They betoken much more than they say. The continued existence of the Six Clerks' Office is one of the great abominations of the court. The officers there are the porters of the Court of Chancery. Every suitor is not only obliged to pay them heavy admittance fees before he may enter the dreaded gates of the court, but is

also obliged to see them further every term in which his cause is moved on the smallest jot. The five orders pointed to the death of this office. They pointed to it, but did not accomplish it; and it is to complete the work here denoted, therefore, as we trust, that the Lord Chancellor and his subordinate judges, on the 19th November, made an order suspending the five orders. The order of suspension implies a more extensive change. It recites, that

"It is expedient that further orders should be made for the better administration of justice in the Court of Chancery, with reference to the matters to which the 1st, 2nd, 3d, 4th, and 5th orders of the 26th August last apply, and that in the meantime the operation of the same orders should be suspended."

And it then suspends them till April next.

From Lord Langdale's known opinions on the subject of the processes of the courts of equity, and especially from his evidence before the Chancery Commission in 1820, we are led to attribute the next ten orders chiefly to him. They are directed to shortening and simplifying the introductory and other forms of the court.

The dominion of the Court of Chancery was originally no doubt usurped. It did not, therefore, like the courts of law, give only one notice to a defendant to appear and defend himself, and on his default, at once proceed to adjudge the case in his absence; but it repeated notice upon notice, process upon process, each more urgent than its predecessor, until the default of the defendant became so gross that it could be considered in reality, as well as technically, a contempt of the court, and that no rival court could for shame protest against the Chancery Court, whatever after it might do to the contumacious defendant. The usurped dominion has now long become an universally recognized authority. The processes, however, have survived till now. They are now by these orders almost all destroyed, and the plaintiff may proceed from the first to the last at one step, instead of, as heretofore, *misurando a passi tardi, e lenti*, crawling slowly on, almost hopeless of end.

The next seven orders are directed to the shortening of pleadings: the succeeding ten orders to dispensing with the necessity of having so many formal parties (trustees, &c.) made parties in suits. There are subsequent orders for other important objects, too technical to be readily explained; and at the conclusion are two valuable orders for giving creditors who are paid through the medium of the Court of Chancery, interest on their debts; and also the expenses of proving them.

The principal defects of these orders, are that they are not sufficiently radical in their scope, and, as to some of them, not drawn up or supervised by parties, practically acquainted with the workings of the subjects on which they bear. Every change in the administration of the law causes much evil. It introduces new elements of uncertainty, and thus creates not only great additional expense, but great additional insecurity also. But these consequences of change are consequences which follow as much on a small change as on the most radical one; and the slightest departure from things as they were creates the evils in question. It follows, therefore, that we should be *conservative* on coming to a determination to alter; *radical* when we have determined to alter: that every change, when positively resolved on, should go as far as foresight and investigation can support it—that having resolved upon change it is mere superstition to be afraid of the extent to which such particular change shall be carried, provided of course, that the extent is not more than commensurable with the evil to be redressed. Now the orders under review, though in

our minds the best directed and best intentioned orders yet on the files of the court, are, as we consider, obnoxious to this censure. Though many needless, and therefore mischievous, processes are abolished, *all* are not abolished which might be; and a process of one kind is ordered for one purpose while it is abolished for another. For instance: If a defendant does not answer when he is ordered, the processes are to be—1st, attachment—2nd, sequestration; the intermediate process of sergeant-at-arms being abolished. But if a party omits to do any other act he is ordered to do, then the attachment is abolished, and the sergeant-at-arms (a terrible gentleman with a bag wig and sword) is to go out against him to enforce obedience.

The publications of Mr Daniel and Mr J. Sidney Smith are intended as very searching and very severe criticisms on these orders. They are not the criticisms of friends. While the smallness of their objections amply justifies us in the praise we have given, their number and correctness (and they by no means hit all the blots) establish our statement that the orders have not been properly submitted to practical men. We regret this. Working out the truths of a noble science;—dealing with these great subjects, to be actuated by the littlenesses of authorship, would, in our eyes, be extremely contemptible. We feel sure this could not be the occasion of the closeness and secrecy observed in the concoction of these orders. If it arose from a contempt of the opinions and views of the rest of the profession, then we think the motive to secrecy still more unjustifiable. If, as we suppose, from carelessness, we regret it much. The legislature has conferred on the equity judges legislative powers for five years; but it never meant that those powers should be exercised in careful secrecy, and that the profession of the law should be presented with ready made acts of parliament, with a careful prior concealment of what was about to be done.

Our objection, however, to the want of radicalness in these orders goes further. If there be anything of an inductive nature in the science of procedure, the judges should go beyond their own court, and the immediate practitioners there, for the experience requisite to enable them properly to legislate on these matters. For instance, as to process. If they meant to proceed scientifically, they should have carefully examined the processes of the common law courts and their working—they should have ascertained the time these take—the cost they engender—the effect they produce. They should have consulted, not merely the judges of those courts, but the practitioners there—and even from these practitioners they should not have been satisfied with empirical and hasty conclusions. But they should have led them to work upwards from the facts there to be observed, to the scientific rules capable of being deduced from those facts; and they should have caused a well-digested set of observations to be taken in that court, so as to show exactly the results desired to be ascertained. We doubt greatly if they even did so much in their own court. They saw a palpable evil, and without probing its extent or carefully examining the effects of another regimen, they applied, off-hand, a remedy which we fear will turn out somewhat hasty and ill-digested.

Some other rules which have been issued this term as to the writ of *distringas* afford a strong confirmation of the above criticisms. This writ in effect, is only a method whereby the Bank of England makes an entry in its books that an interest is claimed by one party in stock standing in the name of another (generally a trustee). Now this process was pronounced by the judges improper, and fraught with danger. *We can admit of no proof of this impropriety except experience.* There have been 600 of these writs

issued yearly for perhaps the last century. We have heard that there are two or three millions of stock affected by them, and yet we never heard it alleged that there had been a single instance of abuse, while the existence of the practice has been of importance to thousands. A reversionary interest in stock is unsaleable without this writ. One morning, however, the profession was surprised by seeing in the newspapers, orders which practically abolished this writ.—Is not this, we would ask, a method of reform which might bring all reform into discredit? Does not this state of things call loudly for observation? It is poor philosophy to argue against the right use of things from their abuse; still poorer so to argue from some supposed *liability* to abuse, which all the facts known absolutely disprove.

These remarks are dictated under the greatest respect for the distinguished lawyers at present engaged on the work of equity reform, but with the feeling that it is our duty here to judge with the utmost freedom even judges themselves, and to own allegiance to none but Truth.

There is one other subject touched upon in some of the orders mentioned at the head of this article, on which we must say a few words. Should business, as it goes into the court, be taken to the judges by rotation as, a pack of cards is dealt out, or should the plaintiff be allowed, as heretofore, to choose his own court? The *Times* newspaper has thought this a subject so popular in its nature as to deserve some long articles. It espouses the plan of a rota. Now, in our view, this question is one of considerable constitutional importance. The immediate object of providing every court with work can be better effected by waiting till one court has exhausted its paper, if ever such a case arises (which after twelve months we don't believe will be the case), and then turning over some business to it from the most loaded court.\* But, besides arguing for a rota to equalize business, the *Times* contends that the plaintiff ought not to choose his court any more than the defendant. This principle, if adopted, should be applied to common law also, and every third cause should be turned over to the monopolist serjeants of the Common Pleas. But the power of deserting to a considerable extent a judge's court, is the only check the public has on the judges. Every judge has his fault and his excellence also, and he is plainly told of both by the silent course of business. Where there is a barrier interposed, there the current will not flow. On the other hand, aptitude in a judge for a particular class of business leads, and with great public advantage, the business to that judge. The Vice Chancellor of England (Sir L. Shadwell) is highly esteemed for his great skill and learning in the construction of wills and other instruments, and the public greatly benefit by taking these to him. Inaccuracy of judgment is not to be cured by a lottery. The only and *proper* cure is a quick, cheap, ready, good appeal.

But there is another reason why the plaintiff should choose his court. Rules must be for the mass of cases, not for the exception. In the mass of cases the plaintiff is out of possession, and the defendant in possession; and possession, as the saying goes, is nine points of the law. The plaintiff is the party wanting a decision, the defendant wants to postpone it. The plaintiff, therefore, should be left, as he has been left, to find the shortest

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\* Inequality of business in the courts, and a certain degree of rivalry between them, are very important. The first enables parties in very pressing cases always to have an early decision, the other applies a motive which that eminent man, Mr Justice Story estimated so highly that he grounded on it a very decided opinion against the abolition, of the Equity Exchequer.—(See a letter from him published, about a year ago, in the *Legal Observer*.)

course. The convenience of the solicitor and of the junior counsel is greatly consulted by the right of choosing a court. They can secure much more the power of personal attention; and whatever enables them to do their work better, is just so far a gain to the client and the public too. The client gets more skilled services, the public gets a higher quality of justice. The power of retaining the counsel who had advised the suit is also very important. Ill-natured people have suggested, that jurors who are briefless, and Queen's counsel who have been tried and found wanting, fancy that a rotation of *courts* will induce in some degree a rotation of *briefs* also. We don't see how this could be. If it were so, that would be conclusive on the subject, for what would be a gain to inferior counsel, would be the client's loss.

Rotation too, oddly enough, is very far from producing an equality of business. It has been tried in the Master's Office for twenty years, and yet some of the masters have twice as much business in their offices as others. How and why this is, is a problem we trust the advocates of a rota will clearly solve before they are allowed to change to a rota. We can give a pretty good guess at its solution.

Extensive reforms are, we understand, in progress. It is not difficult to foretell many of them. A probable thorough remodelling of the offices will be the most important. Unless it extend to the total abolition of the office of subordinate judge (the Master), raising perhaps some of the present Masters to the rank of superior judges, or creating others, responsible for the whole of a cause, we believe that nothing very effectual can be done to improve the working of the equity courts, and to open their doors to those poorer classes, to whom, at present, they are utterly barred, and for whose grievances, therefore, the English constitution at present affords no redress. To this if there be added some substituted system of professional pay; not one based like the present on the number of words written, but one by which intellectual exertion shall be paid for, and clerks' work given in at cost price;—a new era in legal procedure will have arrived.

F.

#### CHINESE LITERATURE.

ÆSOP'S FABLES. Written in Chinese, by the learned Mun-Mooy Sëen-shang, and compiled in their present form (with a free translation) by his pupil Sloth. Small folio. Black and Armstrong.

The author of this work is Mr Robert Thom, a name familiar to the public, Mr Thom (at present with our troops on their northern expedition) having distinguished himself as an able interpreter of the Chinese language, and as the translator of a volume of Chinese Poetry, entitled 'The Lasting Resentment of Miss Keaou-Lwan-Wang, published in 1810.

'Æsop's Fables' were first published at Canton in 1837-38; and met with considerable success. But the work finding its way to the public offices, excited the attention of the high mandarins, who ordered it to be suppressed. The story of the goose that laid golden eggs was said to be a libellous attack upon the policy of the Chinese government.

The fables are printed in three columns. the Chinese characters form the centre column. On the right the Chinese words are given in the roman character, spelt as pronounced by the mandarins, and underneath the same words, in italics, as pronounced provincially at Canton. In the left column we have the original fables in English, and underneath, in italics, a sort of Hamiltonian translation of the Chinese terms, word for word, showing the nature of the Chinese idiom. We give an example from the fable of the Dog and the Shadow.



The Dog and the Shadow.  
Dog Shadow.

犬影

Kaen, ying.  
Hüne, ying.

A long time ago there was a dog who  
was crossing a bridge, and in his  
Formerly had dog cross bridge his

昔有犬過橋其

Selh yew keuen kwō keaou, ke  
Sik y'au hüne huō kēw, he

mouth he held firmly a piece of  
flesh, when

mouth holding had flesh one lump

口咬有肉一塊

kow yaou-yew jow y'lh kwae;  
h'au 'ngaou-y'au yok yat fai;

all of a sudden he observed that  
below the bridge was another dog,  
suddenly saw bridge-below had dog,

忽見橋下有犬

hwüh kēen keaou-hea yew keuen  
füt keen kēw-ku y'au hüne

who in his mouth was also holding a  
piece of flesh, and he knew not that  
he

mouth holding flesh not knew he

口咬肉不知其

kow yaou, jow, püh chē ke  
h'au 'ngaou yok, püt chee ke

was a shadow: so he forthwith part-  
ed with the flesh which he held  
was shadow! forthwith let-go mouth

為影也遂捨口

wei ying yay! suy shāy kow  
wei ying ya! suy shāy h'au

In his mouth and hurriedly snatch-  
ing at the other dog's flesh,  
g. c. flesh and hastily snatched-at it

之肉而奔奪之

che jow, urh pūn tò che,  
che yok, e pūn tūte che,

was within an ace of being drowned!  
his true

nearly drowned-dead his true

幾乎淹死其真

ke-hoo yén sze! ke chin  
kee-oo yeem-sze! ke chūn

flesh, already following the current,  
was borne

flesh already following flowing water  
went

肉已隨流水去

jow, e suy lew-shwuy keu  
yok, ē tsuy l'au-shuy hüy

away (for ever)! Thus by coveting  
what was imaginary, he lost  
! desiring to-covet the false lost

矣欲貪其假失

e! yūh tan ke kea, sh'ih  
ee! yok tam ke ka, shat

what was real! among the men of  
this world

away the true world's-men too-many

却其真世人多

keō ke chin! she-jin tō  
kéok ke chūn! shei-yūn tō

there are too many of this descrip-  
tion!

have species this

有類此

yew luy tsze!  
y'au luy tsze!

The work, it will be seen, forms a most admirable elementary book. As the fables extend to 104 pages, a great variety of characters are necessarily used, and so as to show their different import in different positions. The Chinese student, therefore, could not fail to acquire from the work a considerable insight into the construction of this ancient and singular language. Dialogues in Chinese, and Chinese aphorisms, have been issued from the

Macao press, but without what is so all-important to the student, a free and literal translation. We hesitate, therefore, not to say, that Mr Thom, by publishing this work, has rendered an essential aid to all who may attempt to acquire a knowledge of Chinese. Great praise is due to the author for the able manner in which he has executed both the literal and free translation. The reader, by comparing the one with the other, may at once see the difficulties that present themselves to the novice in the language, from the elliptical character of the phraseology with which it is indispensable that he should become familiar. Prefixed to the work is an introduction, exhibiting examples (taken from M. de Guines) of the ancient and modern form of the Chinese character, and an illustration of its six written modes. Then follows a disquisition on the use of the Chinese particles. We cannot speak too highly of the execution of this part of the volume.

We do not understand why, in some of the fables, antiquated terms should have been selected in a sense only intelligible to a Chinese scholar, when more familiar words would have rendered the meaning clear to all classes. For instance, in the first fable, 'The Wolf and the Lamb,' the word *pang* is used as employed by old writers in the sense of "devours," but its modern signification is almost exclusively that of "boil," and we fear that *Chae pang yang* too much resembles "Wolf boils sheep" to allow the meaning of the words to be quite obvious to the majority of the Chinese at Canton. This is an error, but a more serious one is that of altering the original fables to suit Chinese notions.—The fables are introduced by a reference not to Grecian, but to Chinese mythology. Thus we read, "When Pwan-koo first began, all the birds and beasts could speak." "In the time of Shinnung there was a wolf, &c." "When the great Emperor Yu drained off the waters of the Deluge, &c." A Chinese scholar will naturally inquire "how can this work be a specimen of the literature of European nations, when we know that Aesop, if there ever were such a person, could not have been a believer in Pwan-koo, Shin-nung, or Yu." Mr Thom will be accused of imposition, and there will be so much fair ground for the charge, that we trust, in the next edition, he will insert in a note the original of the parts altered, with a Chinese version, and explain to Chinese scholars why the alterations were made. If this were done, the work, for popular purposes, might remain as it is:—to English students of Chinese, an invaluable acquisition.

## EDUCATION.

*It is our intention to form, with the assistance of various friends of education in whose judgment confidence may be placed, and ultimately to give in the Westminster Review, a complete list\* or digest of the most meritorious works of instruction hitherto published, adapted for the different periods of infancy, childhood, and youth. The digest will embrace the best works relating to every subject connected with moral and intellectual cultivation, or relating to healthful and industrial training. We shall, therefore, be glad to have our attention directed to any useful work (not known to us) of an elementary character, or calculated to facilitate the progress of the youthful student in a knowledge of history, languages, and the moral and physical sciences. Some time will be required for the preparation of the list, the value of which will of course depend upon the care with which the task is executed, and its freedom from bookselling bias. Such a digest we know is a desideratum among parents and teachers, and we hope to render it suitable to the object.*

A NEW ENGLISH GRAMMAR, WITH VERY COPIOUS EXERCISES, &c. By A. Allen, Ph.D., and J. Cornwell. 18mo. London: Simpkin. 1841.—This is a very respectable school grammar, containing much matter in few words, numerous exercises in every part, and an unusually large portion devoted to affixes, prefixes, and derivatives. Like other school grammars, it appears to us to give too little attention to the main points, and too much to subordinate divisions and subdivisions. The verb is too complicated, and the rules generally are too numerous. We are aware that most teachers would have found fault with the book if it had been written otherwise; but we think that a book for beginners, on an abstract subject like grammar, should be restricted to the essential points, and should refrain from minute distinctions and exceptions, which only serve to embarrass the beginner. It should not be an abridgment of everything that is in a large and complete grammar, which would only render it much more difficult than the large work; it should rather be an amplification of the most important parts of grammar.

G.

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TREATISE ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE, FOR THE USE OF BEGINNERS, &c. By Gustavus Nagel, Professor of the German Language, author of the 'German Reader,' &c. Nutt: London. 1841.—Among the best of the various small works which have lately issued from the press to facilitate the acquirement of the pronunciation of the Hochdeutsch or German language, we have little hesitation in recommending this manual of Professor Nagel. His rules are generally clearly and distinctly laid down, and his explanations such as may be of use to those not having the advantage and aid of a master, though of course the pronunciation of particular words is best learned from the lips of a teacher. The chapter where the author turns the attention of the student to the formation of words, we think peculiarly good.

C. H.

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LITTLE ARTHUR'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By Lady Callcott. Murray.—School histories and school geographies, as ordinarily composed, rank in the estimation of a child with the driest of his task books. The compilers of them feeling bound not to omit any important fact connected with the subject, and being, at the same time, very limited in the space allotted for them, are driven to divest each one of the details which make it interesting, and to crowd in such a number of skeleton statements, that the work becomes, at length, about as amusing as the columns of a dictionary. "Resumés," thus terribly complete and dry, may be necessary as class books, or as books of reference, in the course of the education of a child, but must be almost wholly useless to him until his imagination has been called into aid by the means of some more life-like representation—until he has been interested in the subject, and his curiosity awakened by something with which he can sympathise.

'Little Arthur's History of England' is a very good specimen of the kind of introduction to such subjects required for children. The idea which has prompted its production is given concisely in a paragraph of the Preface, which we will quote:—

"This little history was written for a real little Arthur, and I have endeavoured to write it nearly as I would tell it to an intelligent child. I well remember what I wanted to be told myself, in addition to what I found in my lesson book, when I was first allowed to read the 'History of England,' and I hope I have answered most of the questions I recollect to have wished to ask."

The little book is written throughout with that nice appreciation of childish feeling and intellect which is hardly to be met with but among women. We should much like to see an introduction to geography from the of Lady Callcott, or from the yet more able author of 'Exercises for the Senses.' It is impossible to conceive anything duller than the compendiums usually met with in schools, and yet we know, from considerable experience, that there is no subject capable of being presented to a child in a more captivating form. For example :—

"The Tonkin Empire, viz. :—

Tonkin . . . . .	Back-kink.
Cochin China . . . . .	Thu-nan.
Cambodia, or Camboge . . . . .	Camboge.
Laos . . . . .	Han-niech."

This is a specimen, from a very popular school geography, of the portion especially marked out "to be learned by heart" in the *first* of three courses of lessons which the child is to take in that science. The boy, with whom it is among the unfathomable mysteries of child government that he should be compelled to commit to memory and to recite anything to him so utterly uninteresting—and from whose mind, fortunately, the first game at *taw* expels the whole of it—will yet devour the voyages of Columbus or of Captain Cook, and, with a little judicious assistance, will follow their wanderings on his map with an interest which will inevitably fix in his memory all the leading geographical facts connected with them. There are also many lessons very interesting to a child, and which may be so intimately connected with geography as to awaken his attention to the subject. A conversation with him upon the deal planks of which his school floor, and forms, and desks are made, may lead very naturally to some account of British America; and a short history of the campaigns of Bonaparte and of the Duke of Wellington, will interest him in the geography of all Europe, and of India and Egypt. Lessons of this kind not only introduce him to geography, but give him also very accurate notions of its uses and its importance.

G. N.

GEOGRAPHICAL MODEL. Kershaw, 17 Wilderness row; and Ackerman, 96 Strand.

THIS is another contribution to the cause of education by one of the most indefatigable and useful men of the present day—the author of 'Exercises for the Senses,' 'Arithmetic,' and 'Drawing for Young Children.\*' It consists of a model designed to introduce the study of geography, by rendering the meaning of its technical terms perfectly clear and intelligible to the mind of a child. The model is composed of *papier maché*, and gives a bird's eye view of a country, showing in *relief* its mountains and highlands, and depicting its valleys, lakes, rivers, towns, roads, &c., exactly as they would appear to an aeronaut sailing over them in a balloon. The use of the model will be at once recognised by every one who has been engaged in the work of instruction. It is easy to make a child remember the definition of an island or a peninsula; but to give him a clear understanding of the definition, something must be presented to his eye resembling the objects named, and this can be done much better by a model than by a map; for, as we know from experience, maps are very puzzling to children until they have acquired some notion of drawing. The parent or teacher, therefore, placing this model on a table, first explains that an island is land surrounded with water, and then points to one on the model, bidding the child find out another. So with the words peninsula, isthmus,

gulf, cape, &c. The model is so contrived as to illustrate the meaning of all the more important geographical terms, and in half an hour's lesson a child may be made to have a vivid conception of rivulets running down from mountains, forming rivers and lakes, and of the marsh, the estuary, and the delta. The teacher might also point out the routes practicable for carriages, the sites proper for towns, &c., and with a measuring tape may exercise the child in finding out the distance of one point from another.

A map accompanies the model, so that when a child is thoroughly familiar with all the objects it describes, the teacher, by referring to the map, may show how the same objects would be represented on paper. The model and map are placed in a box, and sold together at half a guinea. We learn from the publisher, that the author, from praiseworthy and disinterested motives, was anxious that they should be brought out at one third the price; but that, from the cost of getting up, with the uncertainty of the demand, this was found to be impracticable. We regret it, for we would fain see the model sold sufficiently cheap to be placed in the hands of the poorest. It ought to be considered indispensable to the furniture of every nursery and infant school.

W. E. H.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO ENGLISH GRAMMAR, ON UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLES. By Hugh Doherty. Simpkin.

(We think the title of this work a misnomer: it is not an introduction to grammar, but an elaborate philosophical treatise on the formation of words and construction of sentences, and as such, may be usefully consulted either by the practised student, or those engaged in the preparation of more simple elementary works.)

HISTORIES FROM SCRIPTURE FOR CHILDREN, EXEMPLIFIED BY APPROPRIATE DOMESTIC TALES. By Miss Graham. Dean and Munday.

A CATECHISM OF ASTRONOMY. By Hugo Reid. Oliver and Boyd.

STENOGRAPHY REMODELLED. A treatise developing an entirely new system of short-hand writing. By J. Faucutt. Sherwood and Co.

(We do not think it worth while to unlearn our own system of short-hand to benefit by that of Mr Faucutt, but we think Mr Faucutt's book will bear a very favourable comparison with most treatises on the same subject.)

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### FICTION.

CECIL, A PEER. A Sequel to 'Cecil, or the Adventures of a Coxcomb.' By the same Author. In 3 vols. T. and W. Boone.

The continuation of a clever novel, in which the principal character is a fashionable man of the world, belonging to the numerous class of self-worshippers, with but little sympathy for any other being than themselves, though not entirely destitute of redeeming qualities. We think the author, in his impersonation of Cecil, has been very successful; we receive it as a faithful delineation of the heartlessness and egotism often found in what are termed the upper ranks, but, fortunately for society, not universally characteristic of our English aristocracy. The defect of the novel—and we should not be critics if we could not discover some fault—is, not in the portrayal of Cecil, or in any tendency to caricature (for we think this, on the contrary, is avoided) but in the construction of the plot. We have somewhat too much of the coxcomb,—we want the relief of contrast; the incidents of the novel are too broken and isolated, connected only by one link with the adventures of the principal personage. This is a fault inseparable from the assumed auto-biographical character of the work, for Cecil would not be Cecil if he did not keep himself almost exclusively before the eye of the

reader ; but it is not the less a fault in any work intended to interest and amuse, and one which the author need not have committed had he chosen to adopt the third person. The novel, however, is smartly written, and is obviously the work of a man of talent. In the present dearth of good novels, it is not high praise to say this is the best that has appeared for some months, but in that light, at least, we may recommend it to the reader. We have room for but one specimen of the author's style :—

"Those were mighty pleasant days !—as one usually says of days that are certain never to recur. Throughout Europe, it was holiday time for people intent upon promoting the greatest happiness of the smallest number. While the fashionable world of London, unchecked by the influence of a female court, did as it listed, in Paris, the person of the new King, Charles X, was so surrounded by Jesuits, both in and out of the Order, that he was unable to perceive what was going on at court ; and the Pavillon de Marsan, secure from his paternal surveillance, was playing its fantastic tricks before high heaven in a style which, if it made the angels weep, made mortals smile.

"As to English politics, they were pretty much in the state of vicissitude that the human viscera may have been when changing sides at the instigation of the said Médecin. Canning was recently deceased ;—a great man who accomplished little,—a Damascus blade that came to hand when a tomahawk was wanted,—a temple of polished marble, when the wants of the times demanded a structure of unhewn granite. But now that he was gone, neither granite nor marble remained. Then came a coalition ministry,—the wretchedest thing in nature ; like a spliced mast, sure to give way in a storm. Each moiety of the party was waiting for a favourable opportunity to throw over the others ;—and Huskisson, the *Ministre malgré lui*, was the victim.

"In Ireland, too, I must admit that the sunshine was overclouded. St Patrick seemed no longer satisfied to lie still on his gridiron, like the blessed martyr, St Lawrence ; and was beginning to make an outcry. But after all, the outcries of Ireland have never availed her more than the sputtering of an apple while being roasted !

"Some there were who saw clearly that though no ostensible change had been accomplished, the first stone of a temple of Liberalism had been laid by Canning, which must eventually find a superstructure."

STEPHEN DUGARD. A novel. 3 vols. R. Bentley.—This is a novel by the author of 'The Five Knights of St Albans,' and 'The First and Last.' We remember the latter papers in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' as embodying one of the best imagined and most skilfully treated tales of mortality which have appeared in that periodical. They are some guarantee to the public that the author of the present novel is not without power as a writer, but the subject he has selected is not a happy one ; the incidents are too much thrown among the scape-grace class of gentlemen who turn thieves, and among ruffians who waylay and murder travellers, for our taste. The novel, however, provides ample gratification to those who are fond of this kind of excitement.

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TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST. A Personal Narrative of Life at Sea. By R. H. Dana, jun., Esq. 8vo. Moxon. 1841.

WE have had abundance of works lately, by sea gentlemen, in the shape of voyages, sketches, novels, and tales, giving the officer's notions of sea things and sea-men : but the seaman's version of the story has only now appeared ; and, as was to be expected, is very different from his master's. Whoever wants to know what a seaman is and does, what he thinks and feels, may now gratify his curiosity by 'Two Years before the Mast.' He will find nothing impossible, nothing very wonderful or highly melo-dra-

matic, but much that is interesting and true, and not the less interesting because true. Mr Dana was an American youth of good education, who determined to go to sea for a time, in the hopes of curing a weakness of the eyes which prevented him from pursuing his studies. He went as a common sailor in a trading vessel from Boston, round Cape Horn to California, with a severe commander and scanty crew, and saw much, and experienced many dangers, difficulties, and privations. His recital is such as might be expected from any sensible seaman who could write well. We entreat those who have devoured much sea romance to peruse this modicum of sea reality. The truth is quite as interesting as the fiction, and will probably counteract many erroneous impressions.

### FINE ARTS.

GANDY AND BAUD'S WINDSOR CASTLE. Part VI.—The illustrations contained in this number are—1. The Round Tower and Upper Ward.—2. The Cornwall Tower, with Brunswick Tower in the distance.—3. Details of Cornwall Tower.—4. Elevation of King George the Fourth's Tower.—5. Grotesque Heads from the East front. The two first are extremely effective—considered either as designs or prints, and have been admirably lithographed by Messrs Day and Haghe. The work as a whole is well deserving the patronage it has received.

GRAPHIC ILLUSTRATIONS; with Historical and Descriptive Accounts of Toddington, the Seat of Lord Sudeley. By John Britton. 4to. London.—The architect of Toddington—perhaps the most successful specimen of the decorated "gothic" style applied to a mansion in modern times—is its noble owner; and it is pleasant to reflect that the learned taste and constructive skill of Mr Hanbury Tracy were among the least of his qualifications for the peerage. If evidence were wanting to show how a style of building essentially ecclesiastical may be happily adapted to a dwelling house, Lord Sudeley's Toddington would abundantly furnish it. Great is the pity that this style is not more generally cultivated, for it and its successor, the Elizabethan, are the only styles entitled to claim as really national. Since the introduction of the "classical," we have been deluged with little else than crude abortions, wholly unsuitable in character and fitness to our climate and habits. Scarcely any two things are more opposite in their uses and ends than a Grecian temple, invented for blue skies and constant sunshine, and a modern dwelling house located amid endless cloud and rain. Our architects, for the last two hundred years, have been striving to twist and turn Doric columns and Corinthian capitals to purposes for which they are quite unsuited. The defects in our architecture at the present time are the fruits of the Reformation, which swept away, at the same time, our school of architects with the cloisters that had nurtured it.

A worthy service has Mr Britton's zealous attachment to our national antiquities performed for English architecture. Much which he has illustrated can now be found only in his numerous works. In the present instance, he holds up to the example of the rich one of the most successful of modern structures; and his work on Toddington should be in the library of all who may contemplate the restoration of an old house, or the erection of a new one, in a style the most suitable for British scenery. The work is abundantly illustrated with outline engravings, both of the several fronts of Toddington and of the most striking parts of the interior. Plates

of the library, dining room, withdrawing room, the kitchen, vestibules, cloisters, &c., are given on a scale ample enough for practical guidance; and each and all of these parts, varied, though homogeneous as they are, evince the pains Lord Sudley must have taken to collect the best models, and adapt them to their several uses.

C.

## HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

HISTORY OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE, FROM ITS RESTORATION BY CHARLEMAGNE TO THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES V. By Sir Robert Comyn. In 2 vols. 8vo. W. H. Allen and Co.

D'AUBIGNE'S HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. Whittaker.

(A cheap edition of the work reviewed in our present number; translated from the original by another hand.)

AN ESSAY ON THE INFLUENCE OF WELSH TRADITION UPON THE LITERATURE OF GERMANY, FRANCE, AND SCANDINAVIA. Translated from the German of A. Schulz. Longman and Co.

LETTERS BY DAVID HUME, AND EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS REFERRING TO HIM. Edited by T. Murray, L.C.L. A. and C. Black.

THE WORKS OF JEREMY BENTHAM. Parts 15, 16, and 17. W. Tait.

(The approaching completion of this work reminds us of a duty which we owe to the public, and which we shall not neglect to discharge at the fitting moment,—that of giving a general analysis of the contents of the whole series.)

MEMOIRS OF EXTRAORDINARY POPULAR DELUSIONS. By Charles Mackay, Author of the 'Thames and its Tributaries,' the 'Hope of the World,' &c. Bentley, New Burlington street.

This is a work which, although not aspiring to the rank of a profound philosophical treatise, is yet one from which much practical philosophy may be gleaned. History, it is said, is philosophy teaching by example; and in the examples here given, we have some of the most remarkable instances of the eccentricities and follies of mankind which the pen of history has recorded. In a country in which the spirit of enterprise is too apt to run into a wild spirit of speculation, few papers have ever been written better worth the attention of the mercantile and monied classes than the narratives in these volumes of Law's famous Mississippi scheme, and of the celebrated South sea bubble. Mr Mackay's account of this period, when France and England emulated each other in madness carried to the most extravagant height, is the fullest we have met with. Something approaching to the same spirit of speculative insanity we have occasionally seen in our own times, but we do not remember any case like the following:—

"The projectors took the first opportunity of a rise to sell out, and next morning the scheme was at an end. Maitland, in his 'History of London,' gravely informs us, that one of the projects which received great encouragement, was for the establishment of a company 'to make deal boards out of saw dust.' This is, no doubt, intended as a joke; but there is abundance of evidence to show that dozens of schemes hardly a whit more reasonable, lived their little day, ruining hundreds ere they fell. One of them was for a wheel for perpetual motion—capital, one million; another was 'for encouraging the breed of horses in England, and improving of glebe and church lands, and repairing and rebuilding parsonage and vicarage houses.' Why the clergy, who were so mainly interested in the latter clause, should have taken so much interest in the first, is only to be explained on the supposition that the scheme was projected by a knot of the fox-hunting parsons, once so common in England. The shares of this company were rapidly subscribed for. But the most absurd and preposterous of



all, and which showed, more completely than any other, the utter madness of the people, was one started by an unknown adventurer, entitled '*A company for carrying on an undertaking of great advantage, but nobody to know what it is.*' Were not the fact stated by scores of credible witnesses, it would be impossible to believe that any person could have been duped by such a project. The man of genius who essayed this bold and successful inroad upon public credulity, merely stated in his prospectus that the required capital was half a million, in five thousand shares of 100*l.* each, deposit 2*l.* per share. Each subscriber, paying his deposit, would be entitled to 100*l.* per annum per share. How this immense profit was to be obtained, he did not condescend to inform them at that time, but promised, that in a month full particulars should be duly announced, and a call made for the remaining 98*l.* of the subscription. Next morning, at nine o'clock, this great man opened an office in Cornhill. Crowds of people beset his door, and when he shut up at three o'clock, he found that no less than one thousand shares had been subscribed for, and the deposits paid. He was thus, in five hours, the winner of 2,000*l.* He was philosopher enough to be contented with his venture, and set off the same evening for the Continent. He was never heard of again.'

The next paper gives an account of the tulip mania that took possession of our sober neighbours the Dutch, which is followed by a chapter on 'Relics,' 'Modern Prophecies,' 'Popular Admiration for Great Thieves,' and 'Fashions of Beards and Long Hair.' The paper which succeeds, 'On Duels and Ordeals,' is perhaps the best in the volumes, both from its argumentative tone and its historical details. Mr Mackay's notion, however, of punishing duelists (persisting in contempt of the Court of Honour which he proposes to establish on fighting) by amputation of the hand, is unskited to the age. Oakum picking or the treadmill would meet the case better.

'Popular Follies of Great Towns' forms the subject of a very amusing paper, well introduced by the following just and striking reflection:—

"He who walks through a great city to find subjects for weeping, may, God knows, find plenty at every corner to wring his heart; but let such a man walk on his course, and enjoy his grief alone—we are not of those who would accompany him. The miseries of us poor earth dwellers gain no alleviation from the sympathy of those who merely hunt them out to be pathetic over them. The weeping philosopher too often impairs his eyesight by his woe, and becomes unable from his tears to see the remedies for the evils which he deploras. Thus it will often be found that the man of no tears is the truest philanthropist, as he is the best physician who wears a cheerful face, even in the worst of cases."

The second volume is devoted to the 'Crusades,' the 'Witch Mania,' the 'Slow Poisoners,' and 'Haunted Houses;' and both volumes together, to which we shall again have occasion to refer, form a work in which not only every page is readable, but is so written as to possess an unusual degree of interest.

### METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS.

METROPOLITAN IMPROVEMENTS. From the 'Westminster Review,' No 71, for October. Hooper, 13 Pallmall East.

THE article on this subject in our last number having attracted some attention, is now reprinted as a pamphlet, and sold as described above at the price of two shillings. The pamphlet includes the nine plans we published of the new streets, and the two maps of the Royal Victoria Park, both the latter now coloured.

We are gratified to find that in many quarters an interest is beginning to be felt on a question, which, to the inhabitants of London, is certainly of the greatest practical importance.

A society is now in progress of formation, to be called, we believe, a "Society for the Promotion of Metropolitan Improvements."

The immediate objects of the Society are the following:—

1.—To urge upon the Government the propriety of acting upon the report of the Committee of the House of Commons of 1839, instead of carrying into effect the mutilated plans adopted on the ground of economy by the Committee of 1840;—in other words, to point out the desirability of pulling down the whole of the Rookery in St Giles's, of making a straight street instead of a crooked line from Bow street to Broad street, and of adopting the other improvements, or such of them as may be the most practicable, included in the original plan submitted by the surveyors to the Woods and Forests.

2.—To induce Government to undertake a survey of London and the whole of the surrounding district, with a view to a connected and comprehensive plan for the improvement of the Metropolis and its suburbs; embracing the new lines of communication that require to be formed between quarters of the town now separated by a labyrinth of lanes and alleys,—the open spaces needed for health and recreation,—the main sewers that should be constructed in low and crowded neighbourhoods now without any effectual drainage, and the most practicable mode of forming a quay or road-way along the banks of the Thames.

3.—To discuss the merits of any plans of Metropolitan Improvement that may be submitted to the House of Commons, and when a plan worthy of a Capital, which it is no exaggeration to say is in extent and influence the first city in the world, has received the approbation of the House, to promote its adoption.

4.—The Society will also discuss the following questions:—Whether (as the whole of the improvements could not be effected at once) it would not be desirable to give the Woods and Forests, or some other body possessing public confidence, power to purchase property in any of the proposed lines that might from time to time be offered on advantageous terms by the proprietors, without in all cases taking compulsory possession; and whether the necessary funds would be best raised by a small annual metropolitan rate, or by any other means to which it may be desirable to draw the attention of Government.\*

We have received on the same subject the following letter, to which we readily give insertion, without, however, fully concurring in all the views of the writer, who is a stranger to us.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

SIR,—Having with great pleasure perused your admirable article on 'Metropolitan Improvements,' and feeling in common with yourself, deeply interested in this important matter, I am induced to address a few lines to you, heartily joining in the hope that the proper authorities may take it in hand on some good and broad principle.

There is little doubt, I think, that were the subject properly laid before the public by a few such able reviewers as yourself, it would effect much towards bringing about a better system. I fervently trust, therefore, that you will constantly devote as much of your valuable space to the subject as you can well spare from the numerous calls you must have upon you.

It is melancholy to think, from the want of some well-digested general system of improvement, how much time and money are vexatiously and uselessly expended by committees and projectors. Now that such vast plans of improve-

\* Communications respecting the Society may be addressed to E. Clarkson, Esq., Hon. Sec., care of Mr Hooper, 13 Pallmall East.

ments are so continually brought forward, the Government really seems imperatively called upon to adopt some good general scheme, that may hereafter be carried out as circumstances may permit or require, to which all local projects should have direct reference. The incalculable advantages to be derived from this, the enormous expenses and vexatious failures that we should be spared, no one, I am persuaded, can at present properly appreciate.

Before, however, as you so justly observe, any such plan of improvement could be satisfactorily laid down, a correct survey of the whole metropolis would be essentially necessary; and it is on this part of the subject that I wish more particularly to make a few remarks.

It does appear extraordinary, considering what great improvements have of late years been carried into execution, and what still greater have been projected and laid before committees, that no means have hitherto been taken to ascertain the correctness of the data on which the details of such schemes have been founded.

Unfortunately, the plans on which these projects are originally laid down are but too frequently very incorrect; probably for the most part enlarged from some of the numerous published plans of the metropolis: and every one must see that such as these were not intended, and are far from being fit for any such purpose. To be sure, we are invariably told by the publishers of these plans, that they are from an actual survey made expressly for them, and that many thousands of angles have been taken for the work; all of which, to a certain extent, I have little doubt is perfectly correct. Many angles are taken from the heights of prominent buildings to other conspicuous objects, and from these again are others observed to points within their range, and thus of such mistakes a plan can be correctly laid down; but here, indeed, the correctness terminates. The thoroughfares and blocks of houses between are loosely sketched in,—at the most, traversed with a pedometer; and if they can, with anything approaching to a resemblance, be squeezed or expanded into the spaces allotted them between these correctly-fixed points, a plan is formed; sufficiently accurate, no doubt, for the general purposes for which they are published, but lamentably insufficient as data upon which such vast projects, involving the destruction of an enormous extent of property, should be founded.

That some such system is invariably pursued by parties preparing plans of the metropolis for publication, is tolerably evident from the fact, that no probable return would make it worth their while to adopt any much more complete method. By reason of the enormous traffic in all the principal thoroughfares, it is an impossibility to chain or take the angles of streets during the hours of business; and hence the difficulty in the preparation of any general detailed plan. I have myself just completed a minute survey of about a square mile of the most intricate and dense part of London. I soon found that the only time it was possible to accomplish the work was in the summer months, from between two and three o'clock in the morning until seven or eight, at which time the thoroughfares became so crowded, it was always impossible to proceed. This survey has been plotted to a scale of an inch to fifty feet, making a plan of about nine feet square; and I have no doubt that this survey alone has taken up more time than it has been considered worth while to bestow on any one of the later complete surveys of all London.

It will be seen, therefore, that a perfect survey could not be undertaken with the slightest prospect of any return from publication; nor for such purpose would it, indeed, be at all necessary. It is an undertaking that could only be engaged in under the auspices of Government; and viewing

the importance of the subject, it becomes the imperative duty of the proper authorities to take the matter up: I have little doubt, indeed, that it will ere long engage their attention.

Such a plan should be plotted to a scale sufficiently large to display every separate house and building; and not merely so, but should likewise contain a perfect delineation of the sewers, the boundaries of parishes, the freeholds, levels, numbers of houses, and all other local information that it would be possible to acquire.

This might at first sight appear a gigantic undertaking, the execution of which the end in view would never warrant; but I am prepared to show that very great facilities exist for its accomplishment; so much so, indeed, that I do not consider, in point of expense even, it would amount to anything like the sum you have mentioned. So strong is my conviction of its importance, that I believe these facilities require only to be properly pointed out, to convince every one of the propriety of its being immediately proceeded with.

Many very correct surveys no doubt exist of different parts of the metropolis, taken but recently for various purposes. Accurate plans must be in existence of the neighbourhoods of all the great improvements that have been of late years executed: the large districts through which the various railways pass, and those again through which others were intended to pass; the Eastern Counties at Spitalfields, the originally proposed Northern and Eastern terminus at Islington, the Greenwich, the rival Blackwall lines, the London Grand Junction, and some others, must all necessarily have been correctly surveyed in these directions to some lateral extent.

Accurate plans, too, must exist of the principal freeholds in the metropolis, and others of smaller extent without number, taken for purposes of a local nature. With what facility might not surveyors and others be invited to produce such local surveys as they had in their possession; and with the understanding that those that were found perfectly correct should be paid for at a certain rate, there would not be many, I imagine, to refuse the terms of the proposal. These, of course, would have to undergo some check as to their accuracy; but it would be surprising, I am sure, to find how little comparatively there would be to do, when all these separate surveys should have been collected together. With like facility, also, might all local information be acquired from parish clerks and other officers.

A complete copy of this plan should be deposited at those public institutions which are most convenient for reference; and a copy, also, of each parish should be deposited with the respective parish clerks or surveyors of the metropolis, and open for inspection to the public at all convenient hours.

The advantage to be derived by all interested in the general improvement of the metropolis from such a complete survey, and such a body of useful information, it is useless to dilate upon. Vast sums now uselessly expended, and much vexation and error, the public would assuredly be spared: by enabling the Government at once to determine on a general plan of improvement, to which all local projects should have reference, many of the difficulties they now have to contend with would effectually be removed, and much of the valuable time of committees would be saved,—now vainly spent in arguments on knotty points of a plan, that in reality may have no existence whatever. In the matter of drainage alone, to which public attention of late has been so much and so well directed, what startling facts would not be laid bare as to its defects, which are now but partially and imperfectly known; and what facilities would not be opened to view for their effectual and complete remedy. In fine, such appears to me the immense importance of this step in every point of view, that I believe nothing on a good and broad principle will be effected in the way of improvements until this is previously accomplished.

I trust your own opinions on the subject are sufficiently strong to induce you to devote to it as often as possible your valuable assistance, for which, rest assured all London will owe you a lasting debt of gratitude.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

HENRY AUSTIN.

87 Hatton garden, Oct. 30th, 1841.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

VISITS TO REMARKABLE PLACES, OLD HALLS, BATTLE FIELDS, AND SCENES ILLUSTRATIVE OF STRIKING PASSAGES IN HISTORY AND POETRY. By William Howitt. Longman and Co.

THIS is the second series of a delightful work, of which too many volumes cannot be published, by the Author of 'Rural Life in England,' 'The Boy's Country Book,' &c. The places here described are chiefly in the counties of Durham and Northumberland, connected with the most romantic period of English history, the Border struggles, Chevy Chase, &c.—counties containing some of the most ancient seats and venerable towns to be found in any part of the United Kingdom. The volume is full of interesting historical reminiscences and graphic sketches of English manners and English scenery. Few works containing so much pleasant reading could be voted into a book club.

THE MENTAL AND MORAL DIGNITY OF WOMAN. By the Rev. Benjamin Parsons. J. Snow.

THE subject of this work is one to which we shall embrace the first opportunity of returning when we can take it up with any prospect of practical usefulness. The work itself is rather too much in the character of a learned and elaborate metaphysical treatise, but the writer is undoubtedly not one of the least able defenders of the claims of woman to a higher social and intellectual position than she is allowed to attain by the present laws and usages of society.

THE REMOTE CAUSE OF EPIDEMIC DISEASES. By John Parkin. Hatchard and Son.

TREATISE ON PRINTING AND TYPE-FOUNDING. By J. C. Hansard. A. and C. Black.

THIS historical sketch of the art of printing, with a description of all the modern improvements in the art, is from the seventh volume of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' It is now published as a six-shilling volume, and may be regarded as a printer's manual, which every one in the trade will find it his interest to possess.

OBSERVATIONS ON POPULAR ANTIQUITIES. By J. Brand. C. Knight and Co.

(The second volume of a very useful work, noticed in our last, illustrating the origin of our vulgar customs, ceremonies, and superstitions.)

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, AS ELECTED TO THE FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. By W. A. Warwick. Saunders and Otley.

(A work containing all the information that could be desired on the subject, with a useful historical introduction.)

LEE'S BOOK FOR ALL SEASONS. A Holiday Offering for Youth of both Sexes. Cleave.

THE STEAM-BOAT. Part I. By C. W. M. Reynolds. T. Rogers; Sherwood and Co.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE TRAGEDIES OF ÆSCHYLUS AND SOPHOCLES. From the Greek, Latin, and English Poets. By J. F. Boyes, M.A. Whittaker and Co. Parts I and II.

A DICTIONARY OF GREEK AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. Parts XXII, XXIII, and XXIV. Taylor and Walton.

JOURNAL OF THE STATISTICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON. Part III, Oct. 1841.

ARCTURUS. A Journal of Books and Opinions. Trevett, New York. Wiley and Co.

HINTS RELATIVE TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF FIRE-PROOF BUILDINGS. By A. Bartholomew, Architect. J. Williams; R. and E. Taylor.

NOTWITHSTANDING fire after fire has sounded the tocsin in the ear of prudence, we still in public buildings pursue a faulty, dangerous, and fragile mode of structure: though messenger treads on the heels of messenger, announcing the burning first of a cathedral, then a theatre, after that a senate-house, and anon a bourse, we still regard the safety of public edifices as little as though historical value were nothing; we still go on rearing fragile structures as though the object were an experiment how flaw and rot may be soonest effected,—as if the emulation were how the public library, the museum, and the record house, should soonest consume their precious deposits.

Few persons consider that three such conflagrations as those which have during the last few years visited our national monuments, may destroy all that is valuable in the British Museum, the Rolls Chapel, and the National Gallery.

We believe that, were the dangers incurred by these invaluable stores duly appreciated, a single session would not be suffered by Parliament to elapse before all these national valuables, and every court-roll testament and register in the empire, would be collected and deposited in temporary places of safety, till lasting, unconsumable edifices should be constructed suitable for their permanent reception.

Notwithstanding the vast national loss occasioned by the late enormous conflagration at the Tower of London, that calamity may perhaps be considered somewhat fortunate, since it has brought public attention closely to the subject in a manner which other similar accidents have failed of doing. Though in the seventeenth century all the city of London was consumed, yet the new city was built in a great measure of combustible materials. Burning after burning has from that time to this occurred without practical lesson: in our own times, Wren's Custom-house was destroyed by fire, yet a new Custom-house was completed, whose wooden bottom ten years' moisture reduced to touch-wood, and whose wooden floors, and second wooden roof, a quarter of an hour would reduce to ashes, or evaporate in smoke. One night of flame laid in ruins the vast accumulation of senatorial buildings at Westminster; yet what guarantee is there that one night of like horror shall not prostrate, mourning in its own ashes, the resplendent architectural phoenix which is now expanding its beauteous wings where lay the cinders of its predecessor but so lately? If flame could steal insidiously along the wooden rafter, and so destroy the armoury of a fortress garrisoned by watchful soldiers, what—if like construction be adopted—shall preserve from similar fate the works of art proposed to be brought as a burnt-offering to the new Houses of Parliament?

Though much of the Cotton Library escaped the fiery ordeal where it was originally deposited, what probability is there of its permanent escape while lying in a receptacle of similar danger? Will it only be time to think of

erecting proper and secure edifices when there is no Dooms-day Book,—when not a national picture, statue, or manuscript remains?

There seems to be abroad an apprehension that fire-proof construction, if not impossible, is so difficult and expensive as to be scarcely applicable to any ordinary architectural edifice; we shall endeavour to show this opinion to be erroneous.

In the first place, walls properly constructed on good foundations need in their composition no bond-timber, which, if it be not burnt, is often of such capricious duration as, by decay, to cause great damage to edifices. If chains or ties be requisite within them, iron should be adopted; for ordinary walls strong vat-hooping will mostly serve;—and whereas wrought iron in ordinary situations soon corrodes, such effect is very rarely found to occur upon iron immersed in brickwork. A party-wall only nine inches thick, so constructed, is as serviceable against fire as one eighteen inches thick, with bond-timber on both sides of it.

Secondly, for existing roofs, formed with combustible materials, we refer, among ancient edifices, to the Pantheon at Rome; the reputed Temple of Vesta, which existed at Nismes, a representation of which is given by Andrea Palladio in his ‘Architecture;’ and, among more modern exemplars, to Milan Cathedral, the Church of Batalha in Portugal, Rosslyn Chapel, the Church of St Doulach near Dublin, and the kitchen at Glastonbury Abbey. Where there is an interval between the ceiling and the outer covering (which waste of space may be frequently avoided) roof “trusses” of iron may be adopted, as at St Saviour’s Church, Southwark; and upon such “trusses” may be laid horizontal rafters of iron, to which slates may be tied by strong copper-wire. — an example of which has been erected to a fire-proof gas-house on Bankside, Southwark. There are many advantages attendant upon placing rafters horizontally, not the least of which is the avoidance of the deranging thrust occasioned to walls by the ordinary position of rafters.

Thirdly, for floors we should use no more wood than merely necessary for comfort, adopting neither timber plate, joist, nor beam, but only such small scantlings, or “furrings,” as should be sufficient for nailing down the boards. We should admit no wooden stairs, no wooden floors to halls, lobbies, or passages; all the ceilings should be unconsumable, forming in every possible instance support for the flooring above; and where comfort required certain parts of the floorings of public buildings to be of wood, we should have all presses and receptacles containing valuable property to stand upon incombustible materials, the floorings not approaching them within some feet.

Fourthly, we should entirely discard all wall-battens, skirtings, wainscoting, door-cases, sashes, and shutters of wood, these being the means by which fire is conveyed from room to room, from story to story, from basement to roof.

To prove that modern edifices can be constructed for modern purposes fire-proof, we refer to Sir John Soane’s apartments at the Bank of England, most of which are entirely fire-proof, their walls and roofs being altogether free from combustible materials. For mere fire-proof storehouses, we refer to those at Sheerness.

By the banishment of timber from public edifices, we are confident architectural beauty may be increased. All the generic beauties of pointed architecture have resulted from masonic science, whether arch, vault, groin, rib, boss, pinnacle, buttress, water-table, mullion. When architecture—about the time of the Reformation—ceased to be a masonic study, it suddenly fell away, both in purity of taste and scientific structure; inflammability and mongrel taste came in together. When the whole energy of the Free Mason was directed “to

make every stone press," as Dr Robinson says, "to its neighbours," there was a law generated at once for every form in a building, from the summit-stones of its vaultings to the feet of its buttresses; but all this clear-sighted cunning was obscured when pointed architecture fell, and the unrudered fancy united without principle the fallen pointed architecture with the architectural dross of modern Italy. Though, in the days of Elizabeth and James I, the outward forms of pointed and classical architecture were ignorantly mixed, we subsequently observe Sir C. Wren had penetration to find out the science of the Free Masons' construction, and ability to conceal it under the mask of another kind of architecture, not possessing in itself the same measure of science: he put the spirit of the former into the body of the latter; and had his disdain of combustible materials been sufficiently lofty, and had he gone beyond the Free Masons, whose usual combustible roof-coverings were the only parts of their structures devoid of science, we doubt not that even the smell of fire would not have passed over his work. The whole fabric of St Paul's is fire-proof, with the exception of its outer roofs; these we should like exchanged for others more safe. We refer to the stone ceilings of the western portico, and to the spherical coverings of the side porticos of this edifice, as fine examples of durable and incombustible construction. We also recommend the study of that piece of masonic geometry, St Bride's steeple, the finest instance of construction of the kind, we believe, in the world; though even this work, without a particle of wood in its composition, could not, for want of proper conductors, escape without danger by lightning, which it suffered on two occasions.

Edifices constructed of incombustible materials become, when properly warmed, as comfortable as any others, if not more so. Who is there who does not feel enjoyment with his feet placed on the stone hearth? And if edifices were so built, what room would there be for the old story of flues overheated?

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A CYCLOPÆDIA OF COMMERCE, MERCANTILE LAW, FINANCE, AND COMMERCIAL GEOGRAPHY. By William Waterston, Accountant, Author of 'A Manual of Commerce.' Parts I, II, III. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd.

BRITISH commerce is too wide a field to be left wholly to one oracle, and Mr M'Culloch cannot complain that another should come forward to claim joint ownership with him—there is room for both, and a friendly rivalry will produce mutual exertion and tend to the public advantage. The great name which Mr M'Culloch has so well earned, will give his dicta an authority with the commercial world, which a stranger will not easily cope with, whatever may be his intrinsic merits. But, on the other hand, there are ostensible qualifications in the work before us (independently of its cheapness) which will give it an advantage, in the eyes of many, over its more consequential rival. The titles are more numerously subdivided, and in deference to that promptitude which is the soul of commerce, the information is found shortly given under its own proper sub-head, instead of being embodied in a treatise, in the aggregate subject of which it forms but a department. Thus within the first five pages we have the words *Acceptance*, *Accommodation*, *Account*, *Acree*, and *Act of Bankruptcy*, which, though they may be all treated as part of the respective heads of *Bills*, *Book-keeping*, *Weights and Measures*, and *Bankruptcy* by M'Culloch, have no separate heads assigned to them by him. It must be confessed too that the variety of Mr M'Culloch's investigations among subjects collateral with that of his dictionary, has tempted him in many cases to em-



body in it information not strictly within its scope, a defect with which the condensed work before us is not chargeable.

But the main qualification, and that by which the public will test Mr Waterston, is accuracy. How far he possesses this property, it would be pedantic to attempt to judge—the question can only be decided by the smallness or greatness of the number of errors found in practice. Our own testimony can only go to this negative extent, that, in perusing many of the articles, we have detected no errors. To conclude our testimony, the style is clear and explicit, and of that terse character which is so conducive to condensation in works of reference.

It is a gratifying circumstance to the supporters of free trade, that all the works of statistical reference are with them. The arguments for monopoly, dictated by self-interest, are insufficient to blind the calm statistical investigator; and it is thus that the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' M'Culloch and Porter—the first authorities on these subjects—are as distinct in condemning the corn laws as chemists in pronouncing carbonic acid gas unfavourable to animal life. To this train of authorities we add, with pleasure, the author before us. B.

THE MIRROR, 1841. H. Cunningham, St Martin's place.—We have just received the thirty-seventh volume of the 'Mirror.' It was, we believe, among the first of the cheap publications, and the favourable reception it has uniformly met with from the public almost precludes our *ipse dixit* in its favour. We shall, therefore, only observe that the present volume in no respect detracts from its well-earned popularity. The editor has performed his task in a highly creditable manner, the selections are judiciously chosen, and many of the original articles written with considerable taste. It besides contains several interesting biographical sketches, as well as gems from the pithy poets of the olden times; he has indeed picked up something in every corner—gleaned an ear from every harvest.

The pictorial embellishments are generally illustrative of the text; several of them are by Landells, which we deem sufficient praise. A portrait and biography of Wm. Wilberforce will enhance the value of the present volume to the numerous admirers of that statesman.

THE STUDENT-LIFE IN GERMANY. By William Howitt. From the unpublished MS. of Dr Cornelius. Longman and Co.

WHEN a clever and amusing book is put into the hands of the public, we do not think it is a fair ground of quarrel with the author that he has not produced exactly the work we expected, or one likely to be quite so useful as it might have been rendered. We are certainly of opinion that the work most required is not one devoted exclusively to the manners of German students,—a subject which has already occupied our columns,—but a work instituting a fair comparison between English and German universities. The most important era of life to a young man is that of entering college. The comparative merits of different colleges, or of the professors to be found in each, are at that time questions to him or to his friends of the gravest interest. Whether the most valuable years of his life will be wasted at Oxford, or profitably employed at Bonn, Heidelberg, or Berlin, is, or ought to be, a subject of anxious reflection. Rowing matches or singing festivals are matters of little moment. The question, however, was not one which Dr Cornelius was qualified to discuss; nor, indeed, any one who has not spent some years both in an English and German university. Such a man as Sir William Molesworth, who has seen something practically of both, would have been a

much higher authority. For ourselves, we may here say that our limited observation is in favour of the universities of Germany. In them an English student has the advantage of acquiring a knowledge of the German language without neglecting the higher branches of learning; for German scholars, as a body, have undoubtedly a higher reputation than our own. There also a young man would meet with students from all parts of the continent, and would gain, if he pleased, by intercourse with them, a knowledge of European ideas and institutions he could never obtain from books at home. Oxford, however, we would recommend to those who think their future position requires them to become dependents of the aristocracy, and to seek places in the state, or livings in the church, through influential college connexions.

We believe this opinion is gaining ground, and the ill-temper which has consequently been generated in the minds of those who retain a childish reverence for *alma mater*, was no doubt the occasion of a fierce onslaught which has been made on Mr Howitt's book by one of the writers of the 'Times,' evidently a fresh caught university youth from Oxford and Cambridge. This critic devotes not less than four columns to an abuse of the work, chiefly for various Germanisms and typographical errors which he has taken the pains to discover. For example, he finds the word "*work-tool*," and says, "Who ever heard of a tool that was not for work?"—not apparently knowing that it is a translation (too literal, certainly) of the German "*werk-zeug*."

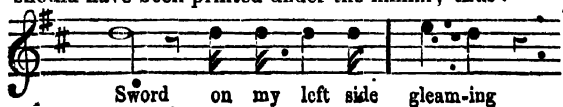
To all lovers of music Mr Howitt's book will be valuable as a collection of many of the most popular German airs. Not less than forty of these are given with the original words, and a very fairly executed English adaptation. With this adaptation, however, of English words to the music of the original, the critic finds all the fault possible to be found by one who is determined to be censorious, and is yet no judge of the matter. We give an instance.

"Du schwert an meiner linken,  
Was soll dein heitres blinken,  
Schaust mich so freundlich an,  
Hab' meine lust daran,  
Hurrah!"

"Sword on my left side gleaming,  
What means thy clear eyes' beaming?  
Thou look'st with love on me,  
And I have joy in thee,  
Hurrah!"

"Every one of these lines is faulty. The measure of the first two is iambic catalectic, strictly observed in the original, of which the commencement, 'Sword on,' is a gross violation. The song is, besides, set to music by Carl Maria Von Weber, and the time noted by him for the words, 'Du schwert' is quaver and minim, which renders the singing of the words 'Sword on' to such notation impossible. Here, then, we have in the first blush of the first line of the first of these Burschen songs a glaring evidence of the translator's incapacity. He is plainly as ignorant of music as of everything else."

With submission to the critic, it is he who is ignorant of music, or he would know that the quaver is not essential to the melody, and might with propriety be omitted;—the error of the translator is not in omitting it from the first bar, and in not placing an additional semi-quaver in the second. "Sword" should have been printed under the minim; thus:—



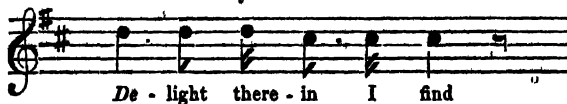
The incapacity of the critic is shown by his feeble attempt at a better version :—

"We feel bound to prove in each case by example that the translator might have avoided the gross blunders into which he has fallen :—

"My sword! on left reclining,  
What means thy joyous shining?  
Thou beam'st on me so kind,  
Delight therein I find,

Hurrah!"

In the original the poet is apostrophizing the sword hanging at his side, which he is supposed to be drawing from his scabbard. We submit to the reader that the "gleaming" of Mr Howitt more accurately conveys the idea than the "joyous shining" of the critic. But was there ever a more clumsy expression than "on left reclining?" The sword is not a lady "reclining" on a sofa—it is a weapon hanging at the side of the poet; and, in an English version, "*by my side*" would surely have been better than "*on left*,"—the left being implied. Nothing, however, could be worse as an adaptation to music than the last line of the critic, in which a strong accent is required to be thrown on the syllable *de*.



We do not defend Mr Howitt's adaptations throughout, either in this song or in other instances; all that we have to say is, that they are much better than adaptations usually are when a close translation is attempted. One or two of them are evidently not written by Mr Howitt, but by a German too little familiar with the idiom of the English language. The fault was in attempting the impossible. Mr Howitt should have given a literal prose translation of the songs, or written entirely new songs to the same music for English use; but to give a close translation from any language, preserving the spirit of the poetry, and in words equally adapted to the music with the original, is a task in which no one yet has succeeded.

The prose part of the work, notwithstanding the drawback at which we have hinted, contains much curious information and some valuable historical notices: among the latter the narrative of 'Sand' will be read with interest, and the work is full of most amusing details of the pranks of German students; to avoid the annoyance of which—for all practical jokers are more pleasant to read of than to meet with—we should say to a young Englishman, go rather to Berlin than Heidelberg. In a capital city the same licence is not permitted which may be irrepressible in a small university town. The book, on the whole, is a very pleasant book, and a few faults of careless editorship should be overlooked. There is an excellent bandit story in it for the lovers of light reading, and the work is well illustrated, not merely by music type, but with numerous steel engravings.

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FALLACIES OF THE FACULTY; with the Principles of the Chrono-thermal System; in a Series of Lectures. By S. Dickson, M.D., late a Medical Officer of the Staff. Second edition, 8vo. London: Simpkin. 1841.

THE former works of this author having been severely handled by the medical critics, he now takes the field with a full and popular exposition of his system. In the course of the work he by no means forgets his opponents; on the contrary, he enters on the combat with much gusto, and deals out

his blows with vigour; argument, illustration, anecdote, ridicule, and abuse being alternately employed to support his theory and demolish his opponents. Whether he is right or wrong, or partly right and partly wrong, is not for the non-medical critic to decide. We can only say that the book is almost as entertaining as a novel, and that the reader must be proficient, indeed, who will not derive much useful information from it. The author's theory of disease is, that all maladies partake of the nature of ague or intermittent fever; they have their hot and cold fits, their periods of aggravation and remission. His method of cure is to attack the enemy when he is off his guard, by prolonging the periods of remission, through which means, also, the fits become less violent, until health is restored. He considers that no medicine is a specific; but that even the most valuable drugs create or cure, and aggravate or alleviate disease, according to the peculiar state of the patient. For example, opium will generally soothe, and produce sleep; occasionally it will irritate, and destroy repose; and this cannot be known without actual trial. Above all, he is bitter against blood-letting of every shape; he tolerates it on no occasion, even of the most violent inflammation. At best it gives, as he maintains, but slight temporary relief, with certain permanent injury; and in his own practice he has discarded it for many years, to the great advantage of his patients. Having now made up Dr Dickson's materials into the smallest possible pill, we leave it to be taken or not, at the choice of the reader; who, if he like the dose, may increase it *ad libitum* from the stores of the author.

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HINTS FOR AUSTRALIAN EMIGRANTS. Illustrated by Wood Engravings of Water-raising Wheels, &c. &c. By Peter Cunningham, Surgeon, R.N. London. 1841.

IN a short but somewhat flippant preface to this pretty little book, we are at no loss to recognise the humorous limner of "convict pantomimes, country lasses, and the aristocracy of New South Wales."

That John Bull, aye, and north-land Sandy also, often cling too closely to the customs of their father-land, may be true; but an intelligent practical farmer will soon learn to vary his practice to the requirements of his adopted country, and we trust that the 'dang it! don't they do so in England?' class may be regarded rather as one of the good stories that Mr Cunningham delights to tell, than as a type of the majority of the settlers in Australia.

At a time like the present, when all eyes are turned towards colonization, as the chief, if not the only means of lightening the pressure on the home-labour market, every contribution towards the improvement of the British settlements in any quarter of the globe must be acceptable. The author by bringing together, in a small compass, various hints scattered throughout large and expensive publications, has performed a useful task. The description of the various methods of constant irrigation, so necessary in the hot and dry climate of Australia, is the most valuable portion of this production, more especially as being illustrated by several neat wood engravings of wheels for raising water in Egypt, Syria, South America, &c.

C. H.

MISCELLANEOUS PAMPHLETS.

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*Corn Laws.*

CORN AND WAGES; OR, A FEW PROPOSITIONS AND REMARKS ON VARIATIONS IN THE PRICE OF CORN AND RATE OF WAGES. By R. N. B. T. and W. Boone. (A very able reply to a fallacy which cannot be too much exposed—that cheap bread would cause low wages.)

THE CORN LAWS OF ENGLAND. By F. Von Raumer. Translated from the German. Simpkin and Co.

(An impartial view of the question by an intelligent foreigner, and a pamphlet embracing some new and important considerations.)

PARADISE LOST; OR, THE QUESTIONS OF FREE TRADE AND THE CORN LAWS STATED AND CONSIDERED. Whittaker.

(An illogical and weak defence of the existing system.)

### *The Currency.*

THE SYSTEM OF THE LONDON BANKERS' CLEARANCES, AND THEIR EFFECT UPON THE CURRENCY. By W. Tate. E. Wilson.

(Mr Tate has rendered great service in the discussion of the Currency question, by the information he has communicated on the subject of the Clearing-house system, and the particulars he has given us of the formula of Clearing-house accounts. We shall, probably, more than once have occasion to refer to the facts contained in his pamphlet.)

THE CAUSE AND CURE OF OUR COMMERCIAL EMBARRASSEMENTS. By Thomas Joplin. Ridgway.

### *Politics, &c.*

THE STATE OF IRELAND RE-CONSIDERED. By a Commoner. Hatchard and Son.

A PRACTICAL ACCOUNT OF THE LAW OF ELECTION BY BALLOT, AS IN FORCE IN FRANCE. Payn, Jersey.

OBSERVATIONS ON A LETTER TO MR B. GALE. By a Plain Dealer. Cox, Bridport.

A REVIEW OF THE LATE PROPOSED MEASURE RELATING TO THE DUTIES ON SUGAR. By J. Beldam. Ridgway.

DES RAPPORTS POLITIQUES ET COMMERCIAUX DE LA BELGIQUE ET DE LA FRANCE. Par L. Jattrand. Bruxelles.

### *Miscellaneous.*

THE GRAVE-YARDS OF LONDON. Being an Exposition of Physical and Moral Consequences of depositing the Dead in the midst of the Living. By George Alfred Walker, Surgeon. Longman and Co.

(A re-statement, in the form of a shilling pamphlet, of many of the facts and arguments adduced by the author in his 'Gatherings from Grave-yards,' referred to in our article on this subject, in the present number.)

REASONS FOR A NEW EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S WORKS. By J. Payne Collier, Esq. Whittaker.

THE LETTERS OF PETER PLATITUDE ON CAMBRIDGE AND THE CANTABS. Longman and Co.

THE TOLL QUESTION ON RAILWAYS EXEMPLIFIED. By W. A. Wilkinson, Esq. Smith, Elder, and Co.

(This is a subject becoming every day one of greater practical importance. We trust that before any more railroad bills are allowed to pass, this sensible little fourpenny pamphlet will be read by every legislator who intends to vote upon them.)

### *Religion.*

A TRACT FOR THE TIMES, NO. XCI. By a Bystander. Ridgway.

THE PRAYER MEETING, ITS ORDINATION AND ITS OBSTACLES. Gardiner and Son.

## NEW ZEALAND.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE SETTLEMENTS OF THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY. By the Hon. William Petre. Smith, Elder, and Co.

NEW ZEALAND, SOUTH AUSTRALIA, AND NEW SOUTH WALES. By R. G. Jameson, Esq. Smith, Elder, and Co.

HISTORY OF NEW ZEALAND, ITS STATE AND PROSPECTS. By John Bright. H. Hooper.

A PLAN OF THE TOWN OF WELLINGTON, PORT NICHOLSON. Showing the Town-acre Allotments. Smith, Elder, and Co.

A PLAN OF THE HARBOURS OF PORT NICHOLSON. Showing the Relative Positions of the Town and Country Sections. Smith, Elder, and Co.

COLOURED PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF PART OF LAMBTON HARBOUR, PORT NICHOLSON. Showing One-third the Water Frontage of the Town of Wellington. Smith, Elder, and Co.

VIEW ALONG THE COAST OF THE NEW PLYMOUTH SETTLEMENT. Smith, Elder, and Co.

Of the above works upon this interesting and flourishing colony, that of the Hon. William Petre is the best for emigrants to Port Nicholson. He appears to have accompanied the first expedition, taken an active part in the formation of the new town of Wellington, and his account of the present state and prospects of that settlement is the most to be relied upon, inasmuch as it is drawn up from personal observation, and is the unpretending narrative of one who, instead of having been disappointed in his expectations, is about immediately to return to New Zealand with the intention of making it his future home. The narratives of Mr Bright and of Mr R. G. Jameson are fuller in information of other parts of the country, including some portions of Australia. The emigrant would do well to consult all these works, and compare their evidence on minor points of difference. None of them are expensive.

We are glad to find the testimony of every writer in favour of the eligibility of New Zealand for colonization. It appears to possess in a pre-eminent degree the first and great requisite—that of adaptation to English constitutions. The new settlers, with but one or two exceptions, appear to have enjoyed the most unbroken health. The climate is not subject to the heats and droughts of Australia, but has a sufficient degree of humidity, as well as sunshine, without extreme cold. Australia, however, is the best country for flocks and herds; New Zealand for arable cultivation and commercial activity.

The conduct of Governor Hobson, as described by the Hon. William Petre and as confirmed by others, has been exceedingly reprehensible; but the fault seems to lie with the Government at home, who sent him out without any very definite views of promoting either colonization or good government. If Governor Hobson were appointed with the intention that it should be his duty to preserve order and prevent collision between the new settlers and the natives, never was a duty so ill performed, for up to the date of the last accounts, he has never visited the spot (Port Nicholson) where the greater number of new settlers had located themselves. If the object were that Governor Hobson should take the lead in colonizing the country, then he should have been properly supported at home with emigration agents and emigration funds, instead of being driven to the unwarrantable step of enticing away labourers from Wellington brought out at the expense of the New Zealand Company.

Governor Hobson has adopted a course which has given satisfaction to no one. From the Bay of Islands to Port Nicholson we do not hear a

word in his praise. He appears to have been impressed with a notion, that because all emigrants are interested parties, it was his duty never to listen to their views, but to oppose and thwart them in every way in his power. Hence, like the Americans when they built Washington, he has founded a capital where no one is likely to have any business to transact, or to desire to live, except for the benefit of his neighbourhood. Planting himself at Auckland, Governor Hobson says to all settlers, north and south, "When you want protection come to me—I am only three hundred miles off, but the dignity of my office forbids that I should come to you." We hope speedily to hear of his recal.

### PHILOSOPHY, PHYSIOLOGY, &c.

PRINCIPLES OF GENERAL AND COMPARATIVE PHYSIOLOGY, intended as an Introduction to the study of Human Physiology, and as a guide to the Philosophical pursuit of Natural History. By William B. Carpenter, M.D., Lecturer on Physiology in the Bristol Medical School, &c. Second Edition, 1841. Churchill.

THIS is a book to which justice cannot be done without a much fuller notice than can be given in this part of our journal, and we shall probably return to it in a future number. The author (who is the son of the late respected Dr Lant Carpenter, of Bristol, and who, though still a young man, has long been known as a physiologist of eminence) has not only accumulated in this work a richer store of the mere facts of the science than we believe is to be obtained in the same compass elsewhere, but has displayed in an eminent degree one of the principal attributes of a philosopher, as distinguished from a mere man of science, the power of generalizing. To the experienced reader, it is already some indication of this quality, that Dr Carpenter includes in his design the physiology of plants as well as of animals, the best physiologists being now convinced that so far as respects mere organic life, the formation, nutrition, and reproduction of the living body (independently of the superadded casualties of sensation and voluntary motion), there is no fundamental distinction between the animal and vegetable creation, but both are governed by essentially the same organic laws, variously modified by circumstances.

In Dr Carpenter's book this and a large body of similar truths are established and illustrated with a very uncommon degree of philosophic power, and the work may be considered as a clear exposition of the highest generalities yet arrived at in the science of life. As such breadth of speculation and reach of philosophy, applied to this subject, have not hitherto been often exemplified in this country, English writers having remained greatly inferior in this highest scientific attribute to the physiologists of France and Germany, it is highly creditable to our scientific and medical public that Dr Carpenter's work has been warmly welcomed and highly applauded by almost all the professional periodicals, and by most of those scientific authorities whose praise confers real honour. S.

THE PHYSIOLOGY OF DIGESTION CONSIDERED WITH RELATION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF DIETETICS. By Andrew Combe, M.D. 12mo. Edinburgh: Mac-lachlan. 1841.

To notice a book of Dr Combe's is almost a work of supererogation; still we feel bound to contribute our mite towards the publicity of a treatise which, both from its subject and execution, merits the attention of every person. In his treatise on the principles of physiology applied to the preservation of health and to the improvement of physical

and mental education, Dr Combe handles the entire subject in a popular manner. In the present work he confines himself to a minute and interesting explanation of the function of digestion and the principles of diet. In the first part he explains the laws of hunger and thirst; proceeds to mastication, &c., describing the teeth, their functions, diseases, &c., and then examines the stomach and its mode of operation; gives much curious and valuable information regarding various kinds of food; and concludes with the organs and functions connected with food after it has passed the stomach. Illustrations are frequently drawn from the corresponding organs of animals, which tend materially to increase the interest and perspicuity of the work. So clear, indeed, are all the explanations, that we cannot conceive how a person of the most ordinary abilities could fail to understand them. The second part, on diet, is equally explicit with regard to times of eating; quantity of food; adaptation of diet to constitution, age, season, and mode of life; regulation of the bowels, &c., in which most persons may discover important facts which it were well they had known long before. Finally, the subject is treated in a manner which cannot offend the delicacy of the most sensitive reader.

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PHILOSOPHIC NUTS; OR, THE PHILOSOPHY OF THINGS. By E. Johnson, Esq. No. X. Simpkin and Co.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES AND MODES OF THE WEALTH OF INDIVIDUALS. By T. Corbet, Esq. Smith, Elder, and Co.

PHILOSOPHY OF NECESSITY. By Charles Bray. In 2 volumes. Longman and Co.

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## POETRY AND THE DRAMA.

SONG WITHOUT RHYME; consisting of Poems in several kinds of verse formed on a principle not before applied to English Poetry. G. Hebert, 88 Cheapside.

THIS little work, by a Graduate of one of the Universities, deserves the attention of all who have thought on the subject of new and original forms of composition in poetry. We do not know that the subject is one of great practical moment, for in poetry the form of composition is of very secondary importance to the ideas expressed, upon which the merit of the poetry must principally depend; but still it is worth while making the discovery, that the poet need not unnecessarily shackle himself with jingling rhymes, or with blank verse of one uniform and monotonous measure; and that without even copying closely, as others have done, the rhythm of Greek and Roman metres, the English language is adapted to various measures by which poetical ideas may be felicitously expressed. We give the following from page 7.

### "THE DYING SWAN."

"Verdure bright and blooming valley,  
Banquet of my roving senses;  
Waving reed and whispering willow,  
Refuge from the noonday fervor;  
Freshness of the wind and water,  
Mingling with the breath of summer;  
Music of the warbling wildwood,  
Into trance my nature lulling—  
Fare ye well!



Sweeter than the woodland warbling,  
 Milder than the summer breezes,  
 Fairer than the sky reflected  
 O'er the blue repose of water;  
 Dearer than the shadowy refuge  
 Wont to welcome me at noonday;  
 Banquet of my tender bosom;  
 Constant mate of all my seasons—  
 Fare thee well.—We never more may wander,  
 Cleaving proudly the resisting river;  
 Ne'er may hide us from the flaming day-star,  
 Basking only in each other's presence;  
 Ne'er find safety from the storm of winter."

HYMNS AND ANTHEMS. C. Fox, 67 Paternoster row.

WE were much pleased to find in this little half-crown work, the evidence of an improving taste in the selection of poetry, adapted for sacred music. We have here not a line to remind the reader of Sternhold and Hopkins; but the best devotional thoughts in the best dress of such writers as Milton, Bacon, Wordsworth, Mrs Barbauld, Mrs Hemans, and others of equal rank. The work, also, contains several original pieces of a degree of merit corresponding (which is somewhat rare in a work of this description) to that of the selections from the poets named. How little is the following (partly taken from Coleridge) in the hackneyed style of the conventicle; but how admirably do the lines speak of the bright hopes and joyous aspirations of the Christian:—

"Dark the faith of days of yore,  
 'And at evening evermore  
 Did the chanters, sad and saintly,  
 Yellow tapers burning faintly,  
 Doleful masses chant to thee,  
 Miserere, Domine!"

"Bright the faith of coming days,  
 And when dawn the kindling rays  
 Of heaven's golden lamp ascending,  
 Happy hearts and voices blending,  
 Joyful anthems chant to thee,  
 Te laudamus, Domine!"

"Night's sad 'cadence dies away  
 On the yellow, moonlight sea;  
 The boatmen rest their oars, and say,  
 Miserere, Domine!"

"Morn's glad chorus swells alway  
 On the azure, sunlight sea;  
 The boatmen ply their oars, and say,  
 Te laudamus, Domine!"

Some of the most beautiful hymns are by Mrs Sarah F. Adams, a lady who ought to be better known to the public; we must quote one as an example.

"The world may change from old to new,  
 From new to old again;  
 Yet hope and heaven, for ever true,  
 Within man's heart remain.  
 The dreams that bless the weary soul,  
 The struggles of the strong,  
 'Aye steps towards some happy goal,  
 The story of hope's song."

"Hope leads the child to plant the flower,  
 The man to sow the seed;  
 Nor leaves fulfilment to her hour,—  
 But prompts again to deed.  
 And ere upon the old man's dust  
 The grass is seen to wave,  
 We look through falling tears,—to trust  
 Hope's sunshine on the grave.

"Oh no! it is no flattering lure,  
 No fancy weak or fond;  
 When hope would bid us rest secure  
 In better life beyond.  
 Nor love, nor shame, nor grief, nor sin,  
 Her promise may gainsay;  
 The voice divine hath spoke within,  
 And God did ne'er betray."

THE PATRICIAN'S DAUGHTER. A Tragedy in Five Acts. By J. Westland Marston. Mitchell. 1841.

It was the avowed design of the author to write a tragedy wholly indebted for its incident and passion to the habits and spirit of the present age. "To limit to the past the dramatic exhibition of our nature, is virtually," he observes, "to declare our nature itself radically altered." A struggle between *patrician* pride and *plebeian* assumption, forms the ground-work of the piece, which is extremely simple in its construction. The high-born Earl of Lynterne, a minister of state, anxious to be on amicable terms with Mordaunt\* (the hero of the piece), whose talents were rapidly gaining him distinction in the Commons, invites him to his ancestral castle. The youthful plebeian soon becomes deeply enamoured of the Lady Mabel, the earl's only daughter, which being discovered by her aunt, Lady Lydia, she artfully insinuates to Mordaunt, that his love is reciprocated by her niece. This brings on, as she had foreseen, a too hasty and confident avowal of his passion, which is scornfully rejected. The faint dawning of Mabel's attachment is crushed by the apparent presumption of Mordaunt, and by the half-hinted insinuation that her hand might have been offered by the earl, as a political bribe. At the end of the third act, Mordaunt leaves the castle in bitterness of heart.

Five years are supposed to elapse before the opening of the next scene. During that period Mordaunt has attained wealth,—a title,—and high political influence. He has outlived the scoffs of aunt Lydia and her aristocratic coterie; and on coldly renewing his suit for the hand of Lady Mabel, has been accepted. Doubts respecting his motives for a conduct so greatly at variance with his character were entertained by his friends, and saddened the joy of his affianced bride, who had always loved him. They are, however, sternly declared during the discussions respecting the formalities of his nuptials, before an assemblage of noble and distinguished guests.

Some equivocal compliments to soften and mystify the obscurity of his origin, he interrupts by the following marked description of his father:

"A man of toil—  
 I mean real toil,—such toil as makes the hand  
 Uncouth to sight, coarse, hard to the touch,—  
 There are none here that would have clasped that hand,—  
 Save at our borough contests, when all fingers  
 Grow marvellously pliant.—"

He then narrates the duplicity of Lady Lydia, which led to the premature avowal of his love; and concludes by a stern rejection of the hand of Lady Mabel.

“Encouraged thus, I straightway sought the Earl,  
Entreated his permission to be ranked  
As Lady Mabel's suitor, when it pleased her  
Smilingly to admit, that she had toyed  
With me, to wile away an idle hour.  
I hasted home;—in a few days the tale  
Of the plebeian aspirant, supplied  
Mirth to a thousand jeaters.—What presumption  
In him to love thus!—What effrontery  
To have a heart! I own that fault, however,  
Is not patrician. Now for once be men  
And women, or if you can, be human.  
Have you loved ever? known what 'tis to stake  
Your heart's whole capital of blessedness  
Upon one die, the chance of love returned!  
To lose the cast; be beggared in your soul;  
Then to be spurned and made a public scorn  
By those who tempted the fatal throw,  
Which drained your heart of riches,—and all this,  
Because your birth was lowly?—Had you borne it?  
I have not sought for vengeance in this act.  
My life, my energies, my talents all  
Did I task for the deed! Such apparatus  
Was meant for nobler uses than belong  
To a mere private feud—but I have fought  
A battle for high principles, and taught  
Convention, when it dares to tread down *Man*,  
*MAN SHALL ARISE IN TURN, AND TREAD IT DOWN*  
As for this lady!—she has never loved me,  
Nor have I lately sought to win her love:  
I would not wreak on her such wretchedness,  
As she caused me for pastime! I have done,  
My mission is fulfilled! [*Moves towards the door.*”

The concluding act contains a picture of Mordaunt's misgivings,—Lady Mabel's sufferings,—the remorse of her aunt,—and terminates by the broken-hearted and subdued Earl of Lynterne calling Mordaunt “son!” over the inanimate form of his child.

We rejoice that this tragedy has been written—we rejoice at ought which brings the conventionalities of society into discussion; it is like the stirring of the pool of Bethesda, which was required to impart a sanative quality to its waters.

But in showing forth the folly and hurtful tendency of the pride of birth and rank, it seems to us that the author has set up another species of pride as the idol of his worship—the pride of democracy, which is equally distant from the dignity of moral worth, under whatever circumstances it may be found—on the highest peak of the lofty mountain, or in the lowly valley and beneath the sequestered shades of humble life.

“Ay, there are homesteads which have witnessed deeds  
That battle-fields, with all their bannered pomp,  
Have little to compare with.”

The style is for the most part natural and unaffected, though there is an occasional tendency to redundancy of metaphor, inconsistent with the abruptness of passion.

We have ventured these remarks in a friendly spirit, as we think we perceive the dawning of original genius, which by study and careful culture may lead to high dramatic excellence. C.H.

**HEBER: RECORDS OF THE POOR AND OTHER POEMS.** By Thomas Ragg, author of 'The Incarnation,' 'The Deity,' &c. &c. Second Edition. Longman and Co. 1841.—Mr Ragg, the well-known author of 'The Deity,' 'The Martyr of Verulam,' and several other works, has already won for himself a name of no mean note among contemporary poets, and the present volume of miscellaneous poetry will not detract from his well-earned reputation.

'Heber,' the principal piece, purports to be a series of tales connected with the four grand convulsions of the earth. The stories are full of incident—love, battle, famine—all graphically portrayed and vividly imagined, and to the lovers of religious poetry, in particular, 'Heber' will prove a rich banquet.

As a specimen of the author's power, we quote the following description of sunset.

"The sun was setting now ;  
How calmly ! In the changing years of time •  
Man oft had seen it set ; and bards had watch'd,  
Extatic, its departure, clad with robes  
Of gold and crimson, till their spirits caught  
Rays of prophetic glory, and they dreamed  
Of light and splendour—then indeed but dreams—  
From which they were awakened by the gloom  
And chilly vapours of the charnel-house.  
But neither man had seen nor bard had sung  
A sunset like to this—so calm, so soft,  
The very scene was peace ; and yet withal  
Of such pure brightness that it rivalled aught  
Except those beams of uncreated light,  
Which speak the visible presence of the Highest."

**THE CHARACTER OF SIR JOHN FALSTAFF, AS ORIGINALLY EXHIBITED BY SHAKESPEARE IN THE TWO PARTS OF KING HENRY IV.** By J. O. Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., &c. &c. London: Pickering. 1841.

MR HALLIWELL, who is well known as one of the industrious expounders and commentators of Shakspeare, by his essay on the 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' &c., in the present small volume on the character of Sir John Falstaff, brings forward many arguments, and a formidable array of authorities, to prove that the stage was in possession of a rude outline of Falstaff, under the name of Oldcastle, previously to Shakspeare having written either of the parts of Henry IV ; that the name of Oldcastle was retained for a time in Henry IV, but changed to Falstaff before the play was printed ; that in all probability some of the theatres retained the name of Oldcastle after the author had made the alteration, and that Shakspeare probably made the change before 1593.

We cannot here enter into a critical examination of the authorities adduced by Mr Halliwell in proof of his positions, for which we must refer our readers to the work itself. Suffice it to say that they are specious, if not conclusive, and that we shall gladly hail the appearance of any farther lucubration from the pen of so candid an inquirer as Mr Halliwell on this obscure and interesting subject.

EDWY, A HISTORICAL POEM. By J. Bell Worrell, author of 'Edgina.' London. 1841.

It might have been well for Mr Worrell, if the good woman who figures in one of Lady Morgan's novels, who always warned the poor boy against *ganús* and *poethry*, had been at his elbow when he set about composing the present poem.

He has indeed sadly miscalculated his powers, and completely failed in letting in "*the light of other days*" upon the scene.

To conceive and execute are very different things; but as the poem is in itself harmless, we should not have said this much, had it not come forth with such high-sounding pretension. It is, however, well garnished with notes from the learned Brompton, Sharon Turner, &c. &c., which to the purchaser will prove the best part of the bargain.

In the southern districts of Scotland, they give a very pithy definition of nothing, viz., "*a bodiles: sark\* without the sleeves!*"

We leave our readers to make the application.

THE BRIDE OF MESSINA: a Tragedy. By Schiller. Translated by A. Lodge Esq. J. Bohn.

THE MIND, AND OTHER POEMS. By Charles Swain. Tilt and Bogue.

(A handsome volume, containing some exquisite steel engravings and many pleasing verses: none of great power, but generally above mediocrity.)

RUDOLF OF VAROSNAY: a Tragedy. By J. A. Blackwell. C. and H. Senior.

THE DEATH OF ATHALIAH: a Scriptural Drama. By the Rev. W. Trollope. H. Wix.

HOURS IN NORWAY. By R. M. Laing. Hookham, Old Bond street.

LAYS OF CAMBRIA. By Philip Bevan. Darton and Clarke.

### POOR LAWS.

THE BOOK OF THE BASTILES; OR, THE HISTORY OF THE WORKING OF THE NEW POOR LAW. By G. R. W. Baxter. Stephens, Warwick lane.

WE find that many persons, especially strangers, are not yet aware of the meaning given to the term "Bastile" in England; it may therefore be desirable to explain it. Under the old law it was enacted, that when any person was found in a state of utter destitution, he should be received into an asylum suitable for a temporary habitation, and supplied with food, medicine, and clothing. In return for these benefits, he was required to work as far as his strength would allow, and conform to other regulations necessary for the order and good discipline of such an establishment, one of which invariably was, that the men and women should sleep in separate wards, it being impossible to provide every married couple with a separate bed-room. These parish asylums, called workhouses, having generally been found extremely defective in accommodation, the new law rendered it imperative that better should be built, at whatever cost to the ratepayers. The 'Times' newspaper thought it preferable that the poor, however idle or undeserving, should be supported at the parish expense in comfortable homes of their own, and therefore stigmatized the improved buildings as "Bastiles." This cry was of course echoed by the host of jobbers, whose delinquencies under the old system had been exposed in the new, and by every sturdy vagrant

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\* *Anglicé*, shirt.

who felt the inconvenience of superintendence and restraint. The grievance is, that a man who says he is starving, and without the means of raising a shilling, shall be fed, warmed, and clothed gratis, through a hard winter, of until work can be got, but not quite in the way he would like best. He would prefer to dispense with the regulations, and to go in and out whenever he pleased. No Union of parishes has, however, any power by law to detain a pauper a single moment longer than it is his good will to remain; nor if he return after a week has elapsed, and again demand admission on the plea of destitution, can the Union refuse to receive him;—the drunken vagabond (a great defect in the law) being no exception. The new workhouses have, therefore, little about them in common with a prison; but prejudice is long-lived, and “Bastiles” they will probably continue to be called by a numerous class for many years.

‘The Book of the Bastiles’ is quite a curiosity in its way. It is intended

“To certify to Englishmen that the same age that produced a Brougham, a Russell, a Malthus, and a ‘Marcus,’ nurtured and reared also, as if in extenuation, a Stanhope, an Oastler, a Fielden, and a Walter;—a General Johnson, and a Bishop of Exeter, as excellent as eloquent.”

The work is a compilation from newspapers, extending to 600 pages, of the rhapsodies of these men. Mr G. R. W. Baxter tells us that he composed it “for posterity,” and to render it the more acceptable, has given us a full length portrait of himself, in a frock coat. The author will confer an additional favour upon posterity if, at his death, he will allow his skin to be dried and stuffed, and sent to the British Museum;—so perfect a specimen of the genus “Green-horn” has never yet been presented to any institution.

#### ON THE SUFFICIENCY OF THE PAROCHIAL SYSTEM, WITHOUT A POOR-RATE, FOR THE RIGHT MANAGEMENT OF THE POOR. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. and LL.D.

It is unfortunate that the able author of this work is but little practically conversant with English modes of relief for the poor, either under the old or the present system. There is not the slightest novelty in the plan he holds up to our admiration,—that of congregational collections and domiciliary visits by elders or deacons. The plan has been followed almost universally by English dissenters and by many churchmen, and continues to be followed up to the present moment. Everywhere we have our good “Samaritan societies,” and charitable missions, all effecting a certain amount of good, but all falling infinitely short of what long experience has shown can only be accomplished by an organization supported by legislative enactments.

#### POPULATION RETURNS: CENSUS OF 1841.

FACTS AND FIGURES.—This is the title of a very useful little sixpenny periodical, published every month by Hooper, containing selections from Parliamentary papers and other documents of a statistical character, not hitherto accessible to the general reader, and nowhere before existing in a convenient form for reference. The success this publication has yet with, is a gratifying proof of the increasing interest the people are taking in all questions affecting public administration. We borrow from No. 2 a summary of the result of the last census.

### “THE POPULATION.

“The following will be found to be the result, in round numbers, of the new census; to which we have annexed that in 1831 and 1821, together with the increase per cent. of the population between 1841 and 1831, and between 1831 and 1821.

	Population in 1841.	Increase per cent. since 1831.	Population in 1831.	Increase per cent. since 1821.	Population in 1821.
England and Wales . . . . .	15,907,000	14½	13,897,000	16	11,978,000
Ireland . . . . .	8,205,000	8½	7,767,000	14½	6,801,827
Scotland . . . . .	2,024,000	11	2,365,890	13	2,003,000
Channel Islands . . . . .	125,000	22	103,000		

“The total population of the United Kingdom this year will be about 26,856,000; \* in 1831, it was 24,133,000; \* and in 1821, it was 21,193,000.

“The increase in 1831 over 1821, in the United Kingdom, was 15 per cent.; but the increase in 1841 over 1831 is under 11½ per cent. !

“This is a most unexpected and startling result.

“Had the population continued to increase at the same ratio as during the previous ten years, it would have been a million larger. The decrease in the ratio has been principally in Ireland; but even in England and Scotland it has undergone a much greater diminution than was expected.”

It appears population has decreased in the following counties in Scotland. For Ireland there is yet no corresponding return :—

Argyll	Peebles
Dumfries	Perth
Paddington	Sutherland
Kinross	

### SYRIA.

THE SYRIAN QUESTION : the Article on the Anglo-Turkish War, from No. 68 of the ‘Westminster Review.’ H. Hooper.

IT may be worth while for the reader to refer again to the above pamphlet, for the sake of noting to how remarkable extent the views of the author have been borne out by subsequent events. The complete failure of our armed intervention in the affairs of Syria was predicted; and never was prophecy more literally fulfilled. Every statesman, however, might have foreseen that when English muskets were put into the hands of wild mountaineers, the result would be as fatal to Turkish as to Egyptian supremacy, and would only lead to the entire disorganization of the country. Recent accounts tell us of a hundred villages consumed by fire in the civil war now raging between the Druses and Christians, and the ‘Morning Chronicle’ of Saturday, Dec. 18th, publishes the following confession of its Constantinople correspondent :—

“Syria for the last eight months has presented the most lamentable picture of local misrule, intrigue, mismanagement, and insubordination, that was ever witnessed in that or in any other portion of the Ottoman Empire.—The result is, that Syria is in a worse condition than it ever was under Ibrahim Pacha, and the Porte has little left but to regret a restoration, which, in its effects, is worse even than a privation. So much so, indeed, that no one must be surprised if the Sultan were ere long to propose to restore the temporary Pachalic to the son of Mahomet Ali.”

### SEFUL ARTS.

A ~~PACKET~~ <sup>BOX</sup> has been sent to us of Pooloo's Chinese Cement. Not being a literary production, we were at a loss to form any opinion upon its merits ;

\* Without army and navy.

but we placed it in the hands of a committee of ladies, who report to us that they succeeded with it in the first trial in mending broken glass and china, and that they consider it admirably adapted to its object.

Of Mosley's Steel Pens we can only say that we are now writing with one, and that the public need not desire to possess better than the pens we are using, if it may be taken as a fair specimen.

## VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

JOURNALS OF TWO EXPEDITIONS OF DISCOVERY IN NORTH-WEST AND WESTERN AUSTRALIA, DURING THE YEARS 1837-38-39. By George Grey, Esq., Governor of South Australia. T. and W. Boone.

THIS is a work deserving high praise. As a book of travels, it is one of the most interesting we remember to have met with; but it has higher qualities than those which belong to a well-told and extremely exciting personal narrative: it has the moral and intellectual recommendations which, in a work of that character, are often wanting. Mr. Grey deserves the warmest thanks of philanthropists for the sympathy manifested in every page for the native population of Australia—for his correct appreciation of their character—his desire to paint them in more pleasing colours than the dark hues in which they have been represented by superficial and prejudiced observers, and his efforts to obtain for them equal laws and equal justice with the white population of our new settlements. It has been customary to describe the aborigines of Australia as the lowest of the human race; they have been held up to us as something of a cross breed between the idiot and the monster, and this has been an excuse for our apathy in allowing the colonists of New South Wales to shoot them as “monkeys,” a term by which they were familiarly called, and with or without the slightest provocation. Mr. Grey gives us a picture of a degree of civilization as existing in some parts of Australia, of which we had no previous idea, and of notions on the subject of rights of property and moral obligation for which the aborigines have never hitherto had just credit. One of the most remarkable discoveries was that of caves, corresponding to some extent with ancient Egyptian tombs, with various figures of men and animals painted upon the walls. We find, too, among the religious superstitions of the natives the Eastern doctrine of the Metempsychosis; and one of the most striking incidents in the volumes is the account of the practical application of the doctrine in the case of Mr. Grey, who was received by a native woman, with tears of joy, as her deceased son restored to life in another form. It appears to be the prevalent opinion among the aboriginal tribes of Australia, who cannot comprehend why Europeans leave their own country, that the white settlers are dead natives returning from the grave in new bodies. Hence the superstitious awe which the first visit of a white man to a distant tribe imposes. He appears among them as a ghost or demon, and the mysterious weapons he carries, and the extraordinary knowledge he possesses, strengthen the belief. Hence the white settlers are spoken of among themselves as “the dead,” to the great bewilderment of some travellers, who could not understand why they were so addressed; and even Perth is called the “City of the Dead” by the natives living in the immediate neighbourhood of that settlement.

“I was, however, wholly unprepared for the scene that was about to take place. A sort of procession came up, headed by two women, down whose cheeks, tears were streaming. The eldest of these came up to me, and looking for a moment at me, said—‘Gwa, gwa, koo bal,’—‘Yes, yes, in truth it is him,’ and then throwing her



arms around me, cried bitterly, her head resting on my breast; and although I was totally ignorant of what their meaning was, from mere motives of compassion, I offered no resistance to her caresses, however disagreeable they might be, for she was old, ugly, and filthily dirty; the other younger one knelt at my feet, also crying. At last the old lady, emboldened by my submission, deliberately kissed me on each cheek, just in the manner a French woman would have done; she then cried a little more, and at length relieving me, assured me that I was the ghost of her son, who had some time before been killed by a spear-wound in his breast. The younger female was my sister; but she, whether from motives of delicacy, or from any imagined backwardness on my part, did not think proper to kiss me.

"My new mother expressed almost as much delight at my return to my family, as my real mother would have done had I been unexpectedly restored to her. As soon as she left me, my brothers and father (the old man who had previously been so frightened), came up and embraced me after their manner,—that is, they threw their arms round my waist, placed their right knee against my right knee, and their breast against my breast, holding me in this way for several minutes. During the time that the ceremony lasted, I, according to the native custom, preserved a grave and mournful expression of countenance."

We might fill our pages with similar characteristic sketches, but it is better justice to the reader to recommend him to buy the work, or order it in his book-shop. We trust the concluding remarks of Mr Grey upon the injustice of subjecting the native population to English laws for a capital offence, without allowing them the benefit of the protection of those laws in other cases, will meet with the attention they ought to command in influential quarters.

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#### - DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

The Chronological Table to follow page 176.









